DELHI UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY

ARTS LIBRARY
(DELHI UNIVERSITY LIBRARY SYSTEM)

Cl No P122 G3 J41

Ac No 387559

This book should be returned on or before the date last stamped below. An overdue charge of 10 paise will be collected for each day the book is kept overtime

THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

THE GREAT LANGUAGES

GENERAL EDITOR

W J ENTWISTLE, M A , Hon Litt D , Hon LL D

King Alfonso XIII Professor of Spanish Studies in the University of Oxford

PUBLISHED

THE GREEK LANGUAGE

By *B F C Atkinson, M A , Ph D*

Under Librarian of the University Library, Cambridge

(Second Revised Edition)

THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

By *A Ewert, M A*

Professor of the Romance Languages in the University of Oxford

THE GERMAN LANGUAGE

By *R Priebsch, Ph D* and *W E Collinson, M A , Ph D*

The former late Emeritus Professor of University College, London and the latter Professor of German and Honorary Lecturer in Comparative Philology in the University of Liverpool

THE SPANISH LANGUAGE, TOGETHER WITH PORTUGUESE, CATALAN AND BASQUE

By *W J Entwistle, M A*

King Alfonso XIII Professor of Spanish Studies in the University of Oxford

IN PREPARATION

THE LATIN LANGUAGE

By *J F Mountford, M A , D Litt*

Professor of Latin in the University of Liverpool

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

By *Miss G D Wilcock M A*

Reader in English in the Royal Holloway College, University of London

THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

By *W J Martin, M A , B D , Ph D*

Lecturer in Hebrew and Ancient Semitic Languages in the University of Liverpool

RUSSIAN AND THE SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

By *W J Entwistle, M A* and *A R Morison, M A*

The latter sometime Lecturer in the London School of Slavonic and East European Languages

THE CELTIC LANGUAGES

By *M Dillon, M A , Ph D* and *I Williams, D Litt , F B A*

The former Professor of Irish in the University of Wisconsin, the latter Professor of Welsh in the University College of North Wales (Bangor)

THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

by

ALFRED EWERT, M A

LONDON
FABER & FABER LIMITED
24 RUSSELL SQUARE

FIRST PUBLISHED IN MAY MCMXXXIII
BY FABER & FABER LIMITED
24 RUSSELL SQUARE LONDON W C I
SECOND EDITION MARCH MCMXLIII
REPRINTED MCMXLVII
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS CAMBRIDGE
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Contents

Foreword *page* ix

Abbreviations & Symbols xi

Chapters

I. General and External History (§§ 1–15) 1

II Preliminary Considerations (§§ 16–20) 22

III Phonology (§§ 21–150) 29

A Vowels Vulgar Latin (§§ 21–26), Old French (§§ 27–51), Middle and Modern French (§§ 52–83) 29

B Consonants Vulgar Latin (§§ 84–85), Old French (§§ 86–109), Middle and Modern French (§§ 110–131) 67

C Syntactic Phenomena (§ 132) Syllabification (§§ 133–144), Accentuation (§§ 145–150) 98

IV Orthography (§§ 151–171) 109

V Morphology and Syntax (§§ 172–489) 123

A Substantives and Adjectives Declension (§§ 173–192), Gender of Substantives (§§ 193–207), Syntax (§§ 208–218), Numerals (§§ 219–223) 125

B Articles and Pronouns Definite Article (§§ 224–226), Indefinite Article (§§ 227–229), Partitive Article (§§ 230–235), Pronouns (§ 236) Personal (§§ 237–249), Possessive (§§ 250–254), Demonstrative (§§ 255–261), Relative and Interrogative (§§ 262–273), Indefinite (§§ 274–277) 150

C Verbs General (§§ 278–288), Infinitive (§§ 289–300), Present Participle and Gerund (§§ 301–305), Present Indicative (§§ 306–321), Present Subjunctive (§§ 322–

326), Imperative (§§ 327–330), Imperfect Indicative (§§ 331–333), Future and Conditional (§§ 334–338), Past Definite (§§ 339–357), Imperfect Subjunctive (§§ 358–360), Past Participle (§§ 361–377), Concord (§§ 378–381), Transitive and Intransitive Verbs (§§ 382–383), Pronominal Verbs (§§ 384–388), Impersonal Verbs (§§ 389–393), Mood (§§ 394–430), Tense (§§ 431–441) *page* 175

D Adverbs (§§ 442–456) 257

E Prepositions (§§ 457–465) 262

F Conjunctions (§§ 466–482) 267

G Word Order (§§ 483–489) 273

VI Vocabulary (§§ 490–595) 279

A General (§§ 490–493) 279

B Borrowed Words (§§ 494–520) 282

C Word-Formation Derivation by Suffix (§§ 521–531), Formation by Prefix (§§ 532–536), Parasynthetic Formations (§ 537), Back-Formations (§ 538), Composition (§§ 539–540), Derivation by Change of Function (§§ 541–542) 305

D Change of Meaning General (§§ 543–545), Synecdoche and Metonymy (§§ 546–551), Metaphor (§§ 552–554), Factors which determine Changes in Meaning (§§ 555–587) 319

E Loss of Words (§§ 588–595) 345

Appendix A Selections 351

I *Strasburg Oaths* 352

II *Sequence of Saint Eulalia* 353

III *Life of Saint Alexis* 355

IV *La Chanson de Roland* 358

V *Le Mystère d'Adam* 361

VI Chrétien de Troyes *Erec et Enide* 364

VII Marie de France *Fables* 368

VIII *Chanson de Toile* page 371
IX Guillaume de Ferrières, Vidame de Chartres *Chanson* 373
X Villehardouin *Conquest of Constantinople* 374
XI Joinville *Histoire de Saint Louis* 378
XII Froissart *Chronicles* 380
XIII *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage* 384
XIV Rabelais *Gargantua* 387
XV Pierre de Ronsard *Odes* 390
XVI Montaigne *Les Essais* 391
XVII Molière *Le Misanthrope* 394
XVIII La Fontaine *Fables* 397

Appendix B Select Bibliography 399

Index Verborum 407

Prof. P. B. PANDIT
COLLECTION

Foreword

This volume is not addressed to the specialist, who may well question the need of yet another general book on the French language It represents an attempt to combine a history of the language with an historical grammar in the proportions required by the general reader and by those students who, while not specializing in philology, desire more detailed information than that supplied by existing books in English [1] The older periods of the language have been considered not so much for their own sake as for their bearing on Modern French [2] In spite of our endeavour to include whatever is essential, we cannot hope to have met fully the requirements of the readers we have in mind A select bibliography has therefore been appended as a guide to further study

It is our hope that in the upper forms of schools also this book may be of use, not merely for the concise account we have endeavoured to give of irregular verbs, formation of the plural, and the like, but as a modest attempt to place in their proper perspective a few syntactic problems, such as the use of the subjunctive It should be one of the functions of historical grammar to inculcate the right attitude towards linguistic problems, and to lift the study of language above the plane of dogmatic assertion and pure empiricism If it could begin to perform this function in our schools, less time would be wasted in misapplied logical reasoning and arid classification of morphological and syntactic exceptions

As the language of a great nation and of a great literature,

[1] A T Baker, *Outlines of French Historical Grammar*, London, 1899, E Weekley, *A Primer of French Historical Grammar*, London, 3rd ed 1917, M S Brittain, *Historical Primer of French Phonetics*, Oxford, 1900, F B Luquiens, *Introduction to Old French Phonology and Morphology*, New Haven, revised ed 1919

[2] We had all the more reason for this procedure as a comprehensive account of the phonology and morphology of Old and Middle French by Miss M K Pope is shortly to appear [Since published under the title *From Latin to Modern French*, Manchester, 1934]

French was bound to find a place of honour in a series devoted to the Great Languages But its intrinsic claims are no less cogent The historical study of the French language is an indispensable element in the special discipline provided by French studies The student of French literature and French culture who neglects it will have but an imperfect knowledge of the most important literary movements in France, and his judgment on particular works and passages will often be falsified One of the most brilliant facets of the genius of the race will be but a dull surface to him, for of no nation can it be more truly said than of the French that its language has been consciously and unconsciously fashioned in the image of the race

Our debt to the many scholars who have written upon the French language or some aspect of it is very heavy We have tried to acknowledge any special indebtedness in the body of the work or in the footnotes Here we should like to say how much we owe to the monumental works of F Brunot, W Meyer-Lubke, and Kr Nyrop, also to the books of A Darmesteter, A Dauzat, P Fouché, E Herzog, Th. Rosset, E Schwan–D Behrens, and K Sneyders de Vogel They have been constantly at our side, and it would be impossible for us to acknowledge in full detail what has passed directly or indirectly from them into this book

It is a pleasant duty to record our deep obligation to Dr C T. Onions, who has read the whole of the proofs and has placed his time and learning ungrudgingly at our disposal; to Mr H E Berthon, who has likewise read the proofs and has made many valuable suggestions, to Professor J R. R Tolkien for indispensable guidance in connection with Germanic loan-words, to Mr F Whitehead, who kindly undertook the heavy task of preparing an index, and to the General Editor, the Publishers, and the officials of the Cambridge Press, who have combined to make our task as easy and pleasant as possible

A.E

Abbreviations and Symbols

C L	Classical Latin
V L.	Vulgar Latin.
L L	Low Latin [1]
O F.	Old French.
Mid F	Middle French
Mod F	Modern French.
>	'becomes'
<	'comes from'
≠	'by analogy with'
orth	'orthography'.
der	'derivative' or 'derived'

A hook, placed beneath a vowel, is used to indicate open quality, a dot to indicate close quality thus *pǫ r* (=*peur*), *po* (=*peu*) A dot is placed beneath a consonant to denote the corresponding fricative thus *t*, *d*, *b* denote the initial sound of English *thin*, *then*, Spanish (*la*) *verdad*, respectively

An acute accent placed after a consonant denotes palatalization thus *vin'* (=*vigne*) When placed over a vowel it indicates tonic stress

A tilde indicates nasalization thus *ã* (=*an*) A colon indicates that the preceding vowel is long

ə denotes the reduced *e* sound (*le*), cf § 64

j, *w*, *ẅ* denote the semi-consonants (*pied*, *Louis*, *lui*), and *i̯*, *u̯*, *ü̯*, the semi-vowels, corresponding to the vowels *i*, *u*, *ü* (*pie*, *loup*, *lu*) respectively [2]

[1] We use the term Low Latin to denote all those species of written Latin (Late Latin, Church Latin, Law Latin) which reflect the decline of the Classical tradition and the influence of the vernacular (cf § 3)

[2] The difference between a semi-consonant and the corresponding semi-vowel is very slight in the former the consonantal (fricative) quality is more pronounced at the beginning of the breath-emission (*pied*), in the latter at the end (*bataille*) The difference is difficult to assess in practice, and we have not attempted to maintain a rigid distinction between *j*, *w*, *ẅ* on the one hand, and *i̯*, *u̯*, *ü̯* on the other

s, *z* denote the voiceless and voiced *s* sounds respectively (*st*, *rose*).

ʃ, *ʒ* denote the voiceless and voiced *sh* sounds respectively (ch*ante*, j*our*)

ł denotes velar *l*, cf § 43

For *k*, *kʲ*, *kᵃ*, *g*, *gʲ*, *gᵃ*, see § 85.

For velar ɑ and palatal a, see § 55

We have used the term Vulgar Latin consistently to denote the spoken language only (cf § 3) Consequently, Vulgar Latin forms are explicitly designated as such or are distinguished by an asterisk, except when they represent a phonetic transcription or regular development, e g *SUBITANUM > SOB'DANU > *soudain* (§ 96) Strict consistency would have demanded that, in the chapter on Phonology, both Latin and French forms be given in phonetic transcription, but we have not considered it necessary to do this in every case The reader will therefore interpret FĪDEM > *foi* as meaning that Vulgar Latin FĒDE (orth FIDEM) becomes Modern French *fwa* (orth *foi*), cf §§ 21–6, 84–5 For Latin nouns and adjectives the form given is, as a rule, the accusative, this being the case which has normally survived in Modern French (cf §§ 173, 182) The quantity of Latin vowels is indicated only when special attention is to be called to it

Occasionally letters are enclosed in parentheses to indicate that they have a purely orthographic value or that the corresponding sounds have disappeared (H)ABERE, DOM(I)NUM Alternatively the syncope of a vowel is indicated by an apostrophe CAM'RA

References to the Selections (Appendix A) take the form of a Roman numeral (indicating the number of the extract) followed by an Arabic numeral (indicating the line) For Old French syntax we have taken our examples, as far as possible, either from the Selections or from the *Chanson de Roland* (=*Rol*) as edited by T Atkinson Jenkins (Heath, 1924)

Chapter I

GENERAL AND EXTERNAL HISTORY

1 French is one of the group of languages which, derived as they are in all essentials from Latin, go by the name of Romance or Neo-Latin languages They comprise Sardinian, Italian, Roumanian, Rhaeto-romance, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Provençal, French Each of these languages represents the final term in the development of Latin as spoken in the respective parts of the Roman Empire In each case the point of departure is the spoken tongue (Vulgar Latin) of the Roman soldiers, colonists, merchants, administrators, as opposed to the literary language (Classical Latin) of the Classical writers of Rome The history of the French language is therefore concerned with the various changes through which Latin as spoken in Paris and its environs passed, with the elevation of this local language to the dignity of a national tongue, and with its adoption and development as the literary medium of French and French-speaking people throughout the world

2 While the development of the French language is on the whole a gradual evolution in pronunciation, forms, vocabulary, and construction, with all the adaptations and adjustments to changing needs and conditions which that term implies, it is natural that the movement should have experienced its moments of relaxation and of accelerated progress, the latter generally coinciding with radical changes in social or political conditions One can therefore establish several more or less distinct phases in the history of the French language During the first centuries after the introduction of Latin into Gaul the language developed on practically the same lines as in the rest of the Empire This period closed with the break-up of the Empire and is generally described as the Vulgar Latin period (to *ca.* 500) The second period is marked by a gradual

differentiation of the Latin of Gaul from that of the other parts of the Empire It may be called the Gallo-Roman period and may be said to close with the establishing of a line of cleavage between the dialects of the North (Langue d'oil) and of the South (Langue d'oc). The Old French period may be said to begin with the first French linguistic monument, the *Strasburg Oaths* (842), and to embrace that period of most striking literary activity—the twelfth and thirteenth centuries The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may at first glance appear to show more affinity with Old French than with Modern French, but compared with standard usage of the twelfth century they offer a contrast hardly less pronounced One may accept 1328, the date of the accession of the Valois, as indicating roughly a time when a number of tendencies apparent in the preceding century come to a head and bring about a change in usage The Middle French period is characterized by the decay of the classical usage of the twelfth century and general hesitation in pronunciation, flexions, and syntax In spite of the efforts of grammarians and the formation of a literary school, this hesitation persists throughout the sixteenth century, and we may therefore conveniently take the Middle French period as embracing the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and the Modern French period as dating from the seventeenth century The justification for making the divisions indicated lies largely in their practical convenience, and in some respects it would be more correct to describe the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as constituting together the formative period of Modern French, the former representing the period of hesitation, experiment and tentative reform, the latter the stage of rational analysis, standardization and codification

3 As indicated above, French is merely the modern form of the spoken Latin introduced into Gaul Contrary to expectations there is very little evidence pointing to dialectal variations in the Latin spoken by the Romans who were the medium through which the language was transmitted to the various Roman provinces. Such differences as date

from its introduction are chronological rather than dialectal. Yet the existence of such dialectal variations is vouched for from the earliest times It must therefore be assumed that, whatever their native dialect may have been, the Romans employed for general purposes a standard form of spoken Latin which developed, at most, regional variations of the type shown by the regional French of the present day It is to this standard form of spoken Latin that we apply the term Vulgar Latin Among the influences which helped to maintain the uniformity and homogeneity of spoken Latin in its early stages perhaps the most important was that of the literary language, to which it stands in a relatively constant relation Vulgar Latin thus itself became a stable idiom, capable of maintaining its integrity even after the decline of culture had undermined the literary tradition, and disintegrating only when the complete destruction of that culture, the isolation of the various groups, and the changed political and social conditions made the maintenance of a conventional standard usage unnecessary and impossible Vulgar Latin offers from the beginning a striking contrast with Classical Latin (§§ 21–5, 84–5 and Chap v *passim*) But the changes which supervened in the Vulgar Latin period, while they are of capital importance for the future development of the Romance languages, are in themselves comparatively slight and bear witness to the extraordinary stability and still more the uniformity of Latin as spoken throughout the Empire Even after the decline of the Classical tradition there remained various factors making for such uniformity the close-knit fabric of the Roman Empire, the constant inter-communication, the founding of schools, the recognition of Latin alone as the official language and its use for public purposes throughout the length and breadth of the Empire With the recognition of Christianity as the state religion, the Church became a powerful conserving factor from the linguistic point of view Latin continued to be written but became honeycombed with Vulgar Latin features and rapidly deteriorated until the Carolingian reforms brought about a partial return to the

Classical tradition Even in its debased form (Low Latin) the written language never ceased to influence the spoken language and to retard its evolution In so far as it continued to maintain the tradition it has to be reckoned with as a factor making for uniformity The hypothesis of a standard spoken Latin does not preclude the development of local dialectal features (particularly in pronunciation), but they would not find expression in monuments nor would they attract the notice of grammarians except in so far as they became regional We cannot, it is true, find any evidence of such purely local features until the ninth century, yet it is inconceivable that they should not have existed The extraordinarily rapid transformation of Vulgar Latin into a new language, such as we have it in the *Strasburg Oaths* and the *Eulalia*, presupposes a period in which the permeation of the vulgar tongue with dialectal features gradually reaches a saturation-point, and political and social disturbances provide the shock which crystallizes the language in a series of dialects Thus it comes about that certain features must be described as old which do not come to the surface until relatively late.[1] A complete history of pre-literary French would present a much more kaleidoscopic appearance than the outline which we are constrained to give It would have to reckon with a twofold development a more or less standard and official Vulgar Latin presenting regional variations on the one hand, and highly differentiated local varieties of spoken Latin on the other

4. The romanization of Gaul, which may be taken to begin with the formation of the Provincia Narbonensis (120 B C) and the conquest of the rest of Gaul (55 B C), brought with it the substitution of Latin for the native idiom of the Gauls The latter was a Celtic tongue which it is impossible to characterize in detail, as only a few inscriptions of doubtful interpretation have come down to us The examination of

[1] Cf H F Muller, 'A Chronology of Vulgar Latin' (Beiheft 78 zur *Zeitschrift für rom Phil*), 1929 For another view, see F G Mohl, *Introduction à la Chronologie du latin vulgaire*, 1899

Celtic elements in various languages and the historical study of Celtic languages and extant Celtic monuments have not yielded results which place beyond doubt the contention that certain developments in the Latin of Gaul are to be ascribed to the persistence of linguistic habits of the Celtic population (§§ 21, 35 *a*, 220) We do know that the language of the Gauls presented affinities with Latin, and this fact accounts in part for the readiness with which they seem to have abandoned their native idiom Among other inducements to do so one may cite the advantages of Roman citizenship, the hope of advancement and material benefits generally, all of which were contingent upon the adoption of the official tongue To these must be added the fact that with the spread of Christianity the diffusion of Latin was furthered by the Church, which employed Latin solely, at first in the form of Vulgar Latin and subsequently in the form of Low Latin Before these combined forces the native idiom, inadequate for the new conditions of life and identified henceforth with an inferior culture, yielded ground rapidly, although it lingered on in the country districts as late as the third or fourth century It has left its mark upon the vocabulary of the French language (§§ 503–4) and in particular upon place-names [1] A distinction must, however, be drawn between these primitive Celtic elements and later Celtic borrowings from the Bretons who emigrated from Britain to Armorica between the fifth and seventh centuries (§ 504)

5 The irruption of Germanic tribes in the fifth century, which resulted in the dismembering of the Empire and the establishing of various Germanic kingdoms, was responsible for the introduction of considerable Germanic elements into the Romance languages of the West and particularly into French Northern Gaul was occupied by the Salian Franks, who adapted themselves readily to their new surroundings, showing a striking respect for Gallo-Roman property and maintaining more or less intact the Roman administrative system Their conversion to Christianity and their cultural

[1] Cf A Longnon, *Les noms de lieu de la France*, Paris, 1920, pp 27–71

inferiority to the Gallo-Romans were a further inducement to give up their native language But they introduced a large number of words (§§ 505–6), and their habits of speech were not without influence on the pronunciation of the Romance tongue (§§ 84, 103) In addition to Celtic and Germanic elements a certain number of Greek words found their way into Vulgar Latin during this period As distinct from the earlier borrowings from Greek into the written or the spoken language, these later additions to the vocabulary are almost entirely connected with the Church and its services (§ 502).

6 The forces which tended to maintain a uniformity of language in the Vulgar Latin period gradually lose their strength in the Gallo-Roman period The ties uniting Gaul, Spain and Italy remain for a time, but in an attenuated form, they are less important linguistically because they are maintained largely by the Church, which is now definitely in the Low Latin tradition. The old administrative cadre inherited from the Romans makes way for the feudal system which, with its self-contained and largely independent domains, fosters the development of local peculiarities of speech The gulf between the spoken and the written language (Low Latin) grows ever wider in spite of the readiness with which the latter absorbs popular elements By the Carolingian reform of the written language the opposition between the two is accentuated and the popular speech is free to evolve without the restraint imposed by a written tradition and in fact without a tradition of any sort The varieties of speech under such conditions are well-nigh infinite, but communities which are united by bonds involving frequent intercourse will tend to follow a common evolution up to a point It is in this sense that one can speak of dialects and groups of dialects They are cultural rather than geographical divisions, and the forces which tend to produce uniformity often overleap physical, political, and administrative boundaries, and they do not remain constant The play of these forces, rather than ethnological factors, would seem to have determined the forma-

tion of dialects and groups of dialects in the Gallo-Roman period While this period offers no direct evidence of such sub-divisions, they are in their main lines fully constituted at the beginning of the Old French period and must therefore date from the period under consideration The dialects developed fall into two main groups, a Northern (Langue d'oil) and a Southern (Langue d'oc), the latter characterized particularly by the tendency to maintain Latin vowels intact, to maintain intervocal consonants, and to drop final consonants The geographical boundary between the two is very roughly a line drawn from Bordeaux via Lussac and Montluçon to the southern boundary of the department of the Isère The Langue d'oc developed its own literary language and its own tradition, but we are not concerned with its subsequent history except in so far as it influenced the Langue d'oil We may characterize the Gallo-Roman period as one in which the language of Gaul at first followed a line of development sometimes parallel with, but almost entirely independent of, that of Spain and Italy But before the end of the period the line has frayed into a vast number of threads forming a network thrown over the map of France in such a way that one can draw no clear-cut boundaries without cutting across one or more threads, and that one can at most establish general areas of convergence, notably a Southern and a Northern Similarly, within the Langue d'oil, at the beginning of the Old French period, the dialects form a uniform network spread across the North of France in the sense that no dialect stands out more boldly than any other To the North-East there is a close affinity between the dialects spoken in Picardy and the adjoining Walloon country, they may be taken to constitute the Picard-Walloon group Similarly to the North-West Norman, to the West Poitevin, Saintongeais, Angevin, to the East Lorrain and Champenois, to the South-East Burgundian and Franc-Comtois, and finally in the Centre, favoured alike by its geographical and political situation, the dialect of the Île de France, called Francien or Central French, and destined to become the national tongue

7. In accordance with this state of affairs the earliest documents in the vernacular are dialectal, particularly as there is as yet no strong national feeling and as no court or capital claims cultural pre-eminence They are moreover utilitarian, clerical, or inspired by some Latin original—in any case not of national interest First in point of time come the *Strasburg Oaths* (842), composed in a dialect which it is impossible to localize They are followed by the sequence of *Eulalia*, composed about 880 at Saint-Amand-les-Eaux, in a Picard-Walloon dialect The Clermont *Passion* and the *St Leger* date from the end of the tenth century and both present a mixture of Northern and Southern forms, probably due to the intervention of a Provençal scribe who substituted Langue d'oc for Langue d'oil forms and in part re-wrote the Northern original Except for the *Jonas*-fragment dating from the beginning of the tenth century and a number of glossaries, nothing further is preserved until we come to the *Vie de Saint Alexis*, composed about the middle of the eleventh century and preserved in three Anglo-Norman manuscripts, two dating from the twelfth and one from the thirteenth century The language of the original is Continental and probably differed but little from Île de France dialect (Francien), what appear to be Norman traits may well be features of a slightly more archaic stage of Francien than that found in twelfth-century monuments. The twelfth century brought with it conditions favourable to the development of a standard literary language On the one hand the chief princely houses developed an active and sometimes a brilliant court life They were moreover drawn together by intermarriages and by a growing sense of nationality born of the Crusades On the other hand the composers of epics were no longer sedentary but moved about from court to court It was therefore natural that they should strive to express themselves in a medium devoid of the more pronounced dialectal features The question of priority, which inevitably arose, seems to have been settled very quickly in favour of the Île de France dialect, largely because it was the language of the capital and of the

most influential of the various courts The royal power had grown more sure of itself and Paris was already becoming in a real sense the capital city of the country Our direct knowledge of the dialect of the Île de France in its pure state is very slight throughout this early period. It is, however, safe to assume that even in the twelfth century, as in the seventeenth, the literary language did not represent the pure dialect, but a slightly artificial form, in which certain purely local traits were abandoned in favour of others that were more general or for other reasons more acceptable With this qualification one may say that the literary medium was henceforth Francien, which those who wished to gain the ear of a wider public strove to write It was only natural that they should succeed to a varying degree in shedding their native speech and that some should even continue to write in their local dialect, content to adapt it more or less to the recognized standard The supremacy of Francien is never seriously challenged except for a brief period (towards the end of the twelfth century) by the Picard dialect. While the literary language countered this challenge, it nevertheless admitted a considerable number of Picardisms, which continue throughout the Middle Ages to figure in the works of writers who had no direct contact with Picardy [1] A number of literary works not intended for the wider courtly circles continue to be written in more or less pure dialect, but this form of literature expires in the fifteenth century From the thirteenth century onwards the standard language (more or less coloured by dialectal traits) takes the place of the local dialect in notarial acts and private contracts, but does not succeed in displacing Latin in royal charters and documents

From the humble condition of a vulgar tongue in the Gallo-Roman period the French language thus emerges, and in the form of Francien becomes the medium for a rich literary output, it encroaches more and more upon the domain hitherto usurped by Latin, whether in works of a didactic

[1] Gertrud Wacker, *Über das Verhaltnis von Dialekt und Schriftsprache im Altfranzosischen*, 1916

and scientific nature or in public acts of municipalities and in annals During this period it is characterized by a homogeneity, a sonority, and a vigour which it will never again attain It possesses a great variety of sounds, rich and full vowels and diphthongs, a varied but harmonious system of verb forms, a simplified case system which allows of great freedom in word-order, and a homogeneous vocabulary in which the popular elements are supplemented in moderation by borrowings from Latin

8 The development of the French language in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries closely reflects the new political and social conditions The decay of the feudal system leads to unrest and disorganization bordering upon anarchy, aggravated and prolonged by the Hundred Years' War The balance of power as between classes, which had hardly been an issue before, now bulks large With the rise of the bourgeoisie, horizontal divisions triumph over the old feudal vertical divisions The dividing line between nobility and bourgeoisie becomes less distinct, while the cleavage between upper and lower bourgeoisie is accentuated A utilitarian spirit pervades society and is reflected in literature Great store is set by learning, and observation crowds out imagination Hence prose is the natural medium Poetic forms continue to be employed, but poetic fancy gives place to an intellectual exercise of the writer's powers of abstraction and elaboration Never were pedantry and allegory more prevalent than in the literature of this period Interest in the ancients, which is apparent in the fourteenth century and grows in the fifteenth, is largely inspired by the same spirit There is little room for individualism in such an age and exceptions like Villon merely prove the rule But out of the turmoil of the age there began to evolve a new conception of national unity, at first symbolized by, and later identified with, an absolute monarchy, which in spite of temporary setbacks slowly consolidated its position

In conformity with the conditions indicated, the language does not show a unified forward movement but a multi-

plicity of changes, often conflicting Many of the tendencies (reduction of the two-case system and elimination of the subject case, levelling influence of analogy in conjugations, etc) that had begun to assert themselves in the Old French period now develop unchecked The absence of a strong literary tradition favours the rapid change from a language still largely synthetic to one which, deprived of the forms and flexions essential to a synthetic structure, is groping towards the analytic structure characteristic of Modern French The consequent hesitation, formlessness, and clumsiness in construction have their counterpart in pronunciation, which as late as the sixteenth century is characterized by fluctuation in usage and conflict of dialectal pronunciations The adoption of Latin words, fostered by the revival of the study of the ancients and the activity of translators, and demanded by a literature predominantly didactic, utilitarian, and abstract, gradually transforms the vocabulary, for hitherto the Learned elements had been largely assimilated to the Popular The breach between literary and popular usage is already widening Externally the position of the vernacular undergoes a complete change Francien, as the recognized literary medium, drives the dialects out of literature and reduces them to the status of mere patois It is even extended to the domain of the Langue d'oc, which begins to furnish outstanding writers in the Northern idiom Hand in hand with this extension in the field of literature goes the triumph of French over Latin in the chancelleries and in the royal administration generally But it is not until the famous Ordonnances de Villers-Cotterct (1539) that French is officially recognized and imposed as the language to be used in courts of law as well as in public and private contracts

9 With all these gains French was still at the beginning of the sixteenth century considered an inferior tongue as compared with Latin, and its future seemed for the moment jeopardized by the New Learning But the cultivation of Latin by scholars writing it in the best Ciceronian style was not calculated to make Latin a more living tongue In fact,

the cultivation of a more 'classical' Latin prepared the way for the triumph of French In scientific literature there was an obvious advantage in an international medium such as Latin provided, and French secured only a precarious foothold in this field. In theological literature, on the other hand, the polemical advantage of employing the vernacular was early recognized Calvin's *Institution chrétienne* (1541) follows quickly upon the first version in Latin (1535) Furthermore, the demand of those who possessed no Latin to be allowed to share in the blessings of the New Learning was not to be denied The dissemination of knowledge in the vulgar tongue was encouraged by successive monarchs and was regarded as a duty by many scholars In this task the newly discovered art of printing was not only an aid but an incentive, it being to the commercial advantage of the printer to cater for as large a public as possible But patriotic motives and the spirit of emulation, which animated writers and grammarians alike, were perhaps the decisive factors The example had already been given by Italy, and it is from Italian writers that Du Bellay draws the bulk of his arguments for his *Defence et Illustration de la langue françoise* (1549) French is now to be, not merely the medium for the writer of tales, romances, farces, and chronicles, it is itself to be cultivated, improved and rendered illustrious While the means to this end, suggested and in part applied by the Pléiade, sometimes ran counter to the genius of the French language, the earnest, conscious pre-occupation with the language as a medium marks a turning-point in its history Henceforth the gulf between the language of poetry and everyday language will never be completely bridged, and arbitrary intervention will have to be reckoned with in the former, and eventually also in the latter The scholar-poets of the Pléiade were aided and in part anticipated by a number of scholars who, inspired likewise by the New Learning, sought to introduce into French some of the fixity, regularity, and simplicity that had hitherto been the chief claims of Latin to priority If their attempts at regularizing the spelling, whether on

phonetic[1] or on etymological[2] principles, at settling doubtful points of pronunciation and formulating rules of syntax, proved abortive, the explanation lies partly in the fact that, less fortunate than Malherbe and the grammarians of the seventeenth century, they could not rely upon the sanction of a fashionable 'bel usage' or the support of an official body such as the Academy The lack of a spirit of discipline among writers and in society as a whole, the unequal level of culture even at the court, and finally the social and political upheaval of the Wars of Religion, rendered their efforts comparatively fruitless But many of their ideas were to be taken up by later grammarians and they did help to create that vague notion of a 'bel usage' which was to take definite shape in the following century

Throughout the sixteenth century the language is in travail The conflict of dialectal pronunciations continues To the hesitation between old and new there is added the struggle between the spoken and the written word, for there is now an ever-growing reading public, prone to model pronunciation upon the written symbol Scholars and those accessible to the admonitions of grammarians are influenced by the reformed pronunciation of Latin, which they seek to carry over into Learned words and even into such Popular words as present a visible affinity with their Latin prototypes. But already a 'correct' or standard usage is being elaborated, and the condemnation of dialectal and popular Parisian features has begun In morphology the confusion is less marked, but archaic and dialectal forms are still freely used, although in many cases they have little more than an orthographic value In syntax and vocabulary the struggle between old and new is more seriously complicated by the Latinizing tendency of many writers The cult of Latin authors leads to the introduction of Latin words, the remodelling of native words, and the attribution to them of Latin meanings In imitation of Latin many features which had

[1] Meigret, Pelletier, Ramus, Rambaud
[2] Des Autelz, Dubois, R Estienne

been foreign to French syntax are introduced and the artificial revival of certain Old French features (e g omission of article and of pronoun subject) is favoured The imitation of Latin periodic structure is carried to ridiculous lengths by a few writers In the latter half of the century the crisis is past, so far as Latin influence is concerned Montaigne's syntax is still Latin in many respects, but his is a special case, and it is significant that the vocabulary of the *Essais* shows him to be anything but a 'latiniseur' The Italian influence emanating from the court of Catherine de Médicis did not create more than a passing craze for speaking an Italianized form of French, against which Henri Estienne inveighed with such vehemence in his *Deux Dialogues du nouveau langage françois italianizé* (1578) More important and permanent are the numerous Italian words introduced in the sixteenth century in all those fields where the French were the pupils of the Italians (§ 516)

10 The general movement towards order and discipline, which characterizes the seventeenth century, embraces literature and language no less than the political and social organization A rationalism that is tempered by a spirit of discipline and has not yet hardened into the doctrinaire philosophy of the eighteenth century contributes to this end The constitution of a polite society, whose life centres in the salon and which eventually takes in the Court and a growing portion of the town, brings with it a new attitude to language The theory of 'le bon usage' is elaborated and becomes 'le bel usage' Its supremacy is assured by a unique collaboration of Précieuses, men of letters, and the newly founded Academy "L'usage", says Vaugelas, "c'est la façon de parler de la plus saine partie de la Cour, conformément à la façon d'escrire de la plus saine partie des Autheurs du temps Quand je dis la Cour, j'y comprens les femmes comme les hommes, et plusieurs personnes de la ville où le Prince reside, qui par la communication qu'elles ont avec les gens de la Cour participent à sa politesse" It should be added that to the moulding of this usage grammarians contributed,

although their chief rôle consisted in codifying and defending it The great writers not only reflect the mood of this society, they are of it and use its language Racine himself is not ashamed to submit his work to the censorship of le père Bouhours as the guardian and interpreter of 'le bon usage', and we know from a letter of his with what diligence he read, re-read and annotated the *Remarques* of Vaugelas The seventeenth century thus brought to fruition the ideas and strivings of the age of the Pléiade The process was a slow one, but by the middle of the century we already find Corneille moved to eliminate from his earlier works features which had come to be regarded as reprehensible archaisms or solecisms. By 1660 the work of purification and standardization is well on the way to completion, and the opposition between the courtly aristocratic usage of society and of literature on the one hand, and popular usage on the other, is clear-cut The concessions which were made to certain genres, such as comedy, do not modify the general picture Every aspect of the language was brought under review Questions of pronunciation were generally settled in accordance with the prevailing practice in the salon, the voice of women being in this matter supreme, but the tendency to model pronunciation upon spelling persists The elimination of archaic forms is practically completed In syntax usage hardens, but still permits of many constructions since condemned in the name of logic It is in vocabulary that the new spirit is most clearly reflected Malherbe heads the reaction against the excesses and confusion of the sixteenth century. Archaisms, dialectal forms, diminutives, neologisms, and borrowed words are condemned Clarity and precision are insisted upon Rationalism and the striving for refinement combine to make each word a symbol for an abstract idea Connotation is eliminated in favour of denotation, and consequently the abstract or periphrastic is preferred to the concrete term, colour is sacrificed to line The result is a literary language which is an admirable instrument for the psychological and dramatic literature of the seventeenth

century, but unsuited for lyric poetry or for colourful descriptive writing, and fated to lose contact with all save the restricted life of the salon Thus it happened that towards the end of the century, when society itself became less exclusive and new ideas demanded expression in literature, the limitations of the medium became apparent The opposition to neologisms was then relaxed, but the aristocratic and abstract character of the language persisted

11. At first glance the eighteenth century appears merely to have continued the seventeenth, making an artificial medium of what had been a living form embodying the tastes and aspirations of its age It is true that the opposition between a fashionable 'bel usage' and popular speech persists and hardens, that writers and public manifest a slavish respect for the language of the seventeenth-century classics, but dogmatic rationalism and the progress of science have left their mark in language as in literature Simplicity, regularity, and clearness are now to be cultivated in the name of reason and logic Grammarians are no longer to be heeded merely as the interpreters of 'le bon usage' but as the protagonists of Reason in matters linguistic Devoid of historical sense, they elaborate the idea of a philosophical grammar based upon logic Hence the great rôle played by the *Grammaire générale et raisonnée* or *Grammaire du Port-Royal* of Lancelot (1660) The ideal of a perfect language plays a part analogous to that of the ideal state It is in this spirit that Voltaire judges the language of Corneille The application of logic results in regularity and stiffness in construction, word-order being made almost inflexible and the language losing much of its variety and suppleness The demands which are made upon it are substantially the same as in the seventeenth century, except that the popularizing of scientific knowledge introduces into general use a growing number of technical terms A first influx of neologisms at the beginning of the century is arrested and Voltaire can still say "L'essentiel est de savoir se servir des mots qui sont en usage" But in the latter half of the century a rising tide of neologisms (mostly

taken from the technical vocabularies of the sciences) invades the literary language Changing fashions favour the introduction of many foreign words But the distinction between noble and common words is rigidly maintained so far as poetry and sustained discourse are concerned The ancien régime, in literature as in politics, presents to the end a Versailles façade, but the edifice is ready to crumble before a determined onslaught In such writers as Rousseau and Beaumarchais can be seen the beginnings of a revolt against the artificiality and the cramping restrictions imposed and maintained in the name of 'le bon goût'

12 The indirect linguistic effects of the Revolution are very great, but it was not accompanied by an immediate revolution in the literary language A number of neologisms connected with politics and administration were naturally introduced, but in language the movement in the direction of logic and reason encountered no obstacle It was the language itself that proved an obstacle to the revolution in literature It was only when the latter was well under weigh that the frontal attack on the restrictions, the revolt against the artificiality and insufficiency of the language, began In prose Chateaubriand had prepared the way, but it is the *Préface de Cromwell* (1827) that sounds the charge The programme of the revolutionary movement is vividly presented in Victor Hugo's *Réponse à un acte d'accusation* (dated 1834, but actually composed in 1854) The forces of reaction—the Academy, the grammarians, university professors, the survivors of the salons—succumb to the Romantics, whose watchword is Liberty and whose aim is to break down the restrictions imposed on the literary language from the time of Malherbe, to restore to literature the whole of the spoken language Content is now to determine form and the 'mot propre' comes into its own. Neologisms and even archaisms are to be made available for the artist's ends. The subsequent changes represent practically a liquidation of the Romantic programme With the Realists the democratization of the language is carried rapidly forward; the language of the

lowest classes, slang, provincialisms are utilized Later schools exploit the increased resources of the language in directions avoided by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries· all the subsidiary and suggestive connotations are employed to achieve colour, relief, violent contrast, the vague, the hazy outline, both plastic and musical values are exploited It is not surprising that with all these experiments the claims of clearness and order should at times have been ignored and that a condition bordering upon disintegration should at the present day be threatening the French language The spoken language reflects more closely the changed social and political conditions resulting from the Revolution With the elimination of the nobility and the salon, the language of the educated middle class as a whole comes to be recognized as standard usage Certain popular features of pronunciation (*wa* for *wɛ*, *j* for *l'*) become universal The technical languages of industry, commerce, science, politics, furnish an ever-growing number of neologisms, borrowings from foreign languages (particularly English) abound and Learned formations threaten to distort the vocabulary Later political changes in the nineteenth century have had no effect, but other factors, such as the spread of education, accentuate certain lines of cleavage The opposition between polite usage and popular usage gives place to a distinction between cultivated speech and colloquial speech, the former clinging closely to the written language, the latter influenced by popular speech and slang Popular speech in its turn tends on the whole to become more refined but presents many varieties according to trade or occupation

13 Externally, the progress of French has been steady It is true that in some fields the struggle between French and Latin continued down to the Revolution Latin was still used in the seventeenth century for occasional verse and formal discourses, but the victory of French in literature proper is consecrated in the masterpieces of the Classical School In the sciences Latin lingered on into the eighteenth century, but French shared with Latin the rôle of an inter-

national scientific language In education the French language played a very insignificant part under the ancien régime, although in country districts the local patois was often employed, instruction in the secondary and higher institutions of learning was generally given in Latin The movement in favour of French received the support of the Revolutionary governments, which were hostile to Latin The secularization of educational institutions was accompanied by decrees making French the medium in all schools and imposing the teaching of French, which had hitherto received scant attention But while French had thus triumphed successively in administration, literature, and education, it was far from being universally employed in daily intercourse Administrative centralization and the preponderance of Paris helped to foster its use in the provincial towns, but the local patois continued to be used even there In the country districts and throughout the South generally French was still a foreign idiom in the seventeenth and a great part of the eighteenth century Even the revolutionary project for the destruction of all patois (1791) did not get beyond a pious wish French came to be recognized, in theory at any rate, as the principal language, but it was left to various powerful agencies of the nineteenth century (compulsory education, military service, the press) to reduce the local idioms more and more to a subsidiary rôle and to prepare their gradual elimination

14 Geographically, the domain of the French language (including dialects) in Europe is much as it was in the Middle Ages Within the political boundaries of France there are computed to be still nearly two million persons whose mother tongue is not French (Alsatians, Bretons, Provençaux, etc), against whom are to be set some four million French-speaking citizens of adjacent countries (Belgium and Switzerland) Beyond the seas its domain embraces, not only the present colonies, but French-Canada Nearly all the two and a half million French-Canadians are descended from the six thousand colonists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

who came from various provinces, but particularly from the North-West (Normandy and Perche) The language of the peasant (*habitant*) is a mixed, archaic form of French, an imperfect elaboration of a standard spoken language on the basis of the dialects of the original settlers, in which Norman traits are common, but which shows the influence of other dialects, notably Saintongeais The speech of the urban population approximates much more closely to standard French but is characterized by lax articulation of consonants and is permeated with Anglicisms, against which a vigorous campaign has for some time been waged.

15. The extension of the French language to England is the most important incident in the external history of Old French. The infiltration of French had begun under Edward the Confessor, but the mass movement follows the Conquest and the rapid subjugation of the English Not only did French become the language of the Court, of parliamentary procedure and of the courts of law, it produced a large and varied body of literature in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and before the middle of the thirteenth century it had become the chief language of daily intercourse in all save the lowest classes Not least among the debts we owe to the Anglo-Normans is the transcription of many Old French works, often in unique or superior manuscripts The decline of the French language follows upon the national movement under Henry III, and English quickly recovered its place in ordinary use (latter half of the thirteenth century), more slowly in official life French remained the Court language as late as the fifteenth century and was not displaced by English in records of lawsuits until the eighteenth It has left its mark upon legal vocabulary and in such parliamentary formulae as *le Roi le veult* and *le Roi s'advisera*, not to mention the vast number of French elements which have become completely naturalized in the general vocabulary of English. The French language was brought over in the main by Normans, who were in the majority, not only in the ranks of William's soldiers, but among the many French monks and ecclesiastics settled

in England during his reign But other influences are to be traced in the French of England, notably from the South-West (Angevin) and from the North (Walloon and Picard). By the middle of the twelfth century it had begun to develop features of its own, and its evolution anticipates in many respects subsequent developments in Continental French (cf. §§ 62 note, 184) With the interruption of regular communication with the Continent in the thirteenth century and the rise of English, Anglo-Norman deteriorated rapidly, the literary language showing a curious mixture of archaisms and innovations Before the end of the thirteenth century French is clearly for many writers no longer a completely natural medium but a language to be cultivated This becomes more and more marked in the course of the fourteenth century, and it is significant that the fifteenth has, apart from legal and public documents, nothing to show save grammatical treatises and manuals

For the cultivation of French as a second language, its utilization for literary purposes in Italy (Franco-Italian epics and romances, Marco Polo, Rusticiano of Pisa) and elsewhere, its rise and decline as the language of diplomacy, its cultivation as the *lingua franca* of polite society (notably in the eighteenth century), see Brunot, I, pp 358–99 and V, pp 135–431, Petit de Julleville (Brunot), VI, pp 866–92 and VIII, pp 861–3, Dauzat, *Histoire*, pp 573–8 and § 701 (Bibliography)

Chapter II

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

16 We may define a language as a system of words (groups of articulated sounds) used by a group of human beings to exchange their thoughts In studying a language we may therefore proceed from the psychological to the physical and examine the means adopted by the language for the rendering of thoughts (whether simple notions or complex processes), or taking as our point of departure the physical symbols, we may examine their nature, their evolution and their utilization for the exchange of thoughts The former might be called the natural method of approach, for speech-activity consists in the analysis of a concept (more or less complex) and the communication of the concept in analytic form Thus the concept of 'John writing a letter to Peter' may take the following analytic form *John—is writing—a letter—to Peter*, which the organs of speech are charged to reproduce in audible form In the mind of a Frenchman the same concept would take the form *Jean écrit une lettre à Pierre* or *Jean est en train d'écrire une lettre à Pierre*, etc In such a sentence one can distinguish two kinds of elements (*a*) those which are recognized as units in virtue of the meaning they convey (*Jean, lettre, Pierre*) and (*b*) those which enable the reader to reconstruct the concept The latter include not only such particles as *une, à*, but also flexions, word-order, and intonation Our study would therefore resolve itself into an examination of the means employed by the language to denote certain objects, qualities, or actions, and to render such notions as tense, person, mood, number, gender, or such relations as we describe by the terms 'direct object', 'indirect object'

The second method begins with the physical and examines the sounds of which speech is composed (Phonology), the groups of sounds which are recognized as units in virtue of

the meaning they convey, their form and utilization (Vocabulary) Finally it examines those devices (flexions, prepositions, word-order, etc) which serve to present in an analytic form a given concept These may be studied from the purely formal point of view (Morphology) or from the point of view of use (Syntax) Such a treatment runs the risk of giving a false picture of speech-activity, but it presents definite practical advantages Similarly the division of the field as indicated is artificial and presents obvious disadvantages, such as the separate treatment of form and function or meaning. Practical convenience must be our excuse for adhering to the time-honoured practice

17 We have defined a language as a system of words, and upon analysis we find that from a physical point of view each word consists of one or more sounds A change in the form of a word may therefore come about in one of two ways (*a*) the quality of one or more of the constituent elements may be changed by a modified articulation, (*b*) there may be suppression, addition, substitution, or re-grouping of the constituent elements (vowels and consonants) independently of such modification The former is called sound-change

Sound-changes are a natural concomitant of speech-activity We have seen that the latter implies the translation into audible sounds of a sound-picture existing in the mind of the speaker This sound-picture might be described as a synthetic photograph (for which the analogy of a sound-film is appropriate up to a point) of a series of impressions received through the ear A change in pronunciation may result from a distortion of the picture, such as might be produced by faulty perception or prolonged contact with persons possessing an abnormal articulation But it also results from the failure of the individual to render the sound-picture accurately, from his failure to check slight deviations from the norm represented by the picture In other words, the movement of the organs of speech is capable of variations so slight that they escape notice Where such deviations are shared by a sufficiently large percentage of the population

(community, tribe or nation) the synthetic photograph recorded through the ear is insensibly distorted A new norm henceforth exists and we may say that a sound-change has been accomplished Sound-change is therefore a gradual process, mechanical, regular, and involuntary Thus FIDEM has by a series of slight changes (*fede* > *feede* > *feit* > *fei* > *foi* > *foę* > *fwę* > *fwa*) become *foi* Such changes may therefore be summed up in the form of sound-laws stating that at a given time, in a given place, under given phonetic conditions, a certain change in pronunciation took place It is obvious that the term 'law' is here used in a special sense It is in no sense an enactment, nor has it the universal application of a physical law It is in fact a statistical law deriving its validity from the accuracy and completeness of the statistics But as it records a mechanical and involuntary change it should, if accurately framed, admit of no exceptions As already indicated, three conditions must be observed (*a*) Chronology A sound-law merely states what happened at a given time Therefore only the words existing in the language at that date will be affected Words entering it later will not undergo the change in question, they may appear to do so, but that is due to an analogical adaptation, the sounds of the borrowed word being rendered by what are felt to be their normal equivalents in the language (§§ 499–501) A distinction must therefore be drawn between native words and borrowed words Borrowing has taken place at all periods in the history of Latin, but from the point of view of French, those words are described as Borrowed which came into the language after the date of the earliest change which differentiated French from the other Romance idioms Among the Borrowed words a further distinction is made between Learned words (borrowed from Latin or through Latin, whether Classical or Low) and Foreign words borrowed from other languages French words of Latin origin therefore fall into two classes, Popular and Learned, the former undergoing all the phonetic changes which have transformed Latin into French, the latter showing only some of these changes

Compare Popular *poivre* (< PĬPER), *fièvre* (< FĔBRĔM), *gré* (< GRĀTUM), *suer* (< SŪDĀRE) with Learned *livre* (< LĪBRUM), *célèbre* (< CĔLĔBREM), *avocat* (< ADVOCĀTUM), *stupide* (< STŪPĪDUM) Etymological doublets consisting of a Popular and a Learned form of the same word are common· *maire* and *major* (MAJOR), *parole* and *parabole* (PARABOLA), *voyage* and *viatique* (VIATICUM), etc (*b*) Geography A sound-law merely states what happened in a given place, more precisely a given speech-community Forms showing hard *c* (=k) for the normal *ch* (= š), e g *cage*, *cabaret*, etc , although they may be Popular 'langue d'oil' forms, are borrowed and constitute nothing more than apparent exceptions to sound-laws applicable to the Île de France dialect That is to say, each dialect has its own sound-laws, some of these are peculiar to itself, some it shares with other dialects It is beyond the scope of this book to indicate how far each sound-law of the Île de France dialect applies to other dialects, but a few general indications are given in the Appendix (A) (*c*) Phonetic conditions Isolative changes, i e changes which take place independently of varying phonetic conditions, are rare An example is the change *u* (< ū) to *u* (§ 32) Generally sound-changes are Combinative, i e governed by position within a word or phrase Account must be taken, not merely of such phonetic conditions as are indicated in conventional orthography, but of conditions such as accent and syllabification Compare the development of *e* (< ē) in TĒLA > *toile*, MERCĒDEM > *merci*, FRĒNUM > *frein*, RACĒMUM > *raisin*, VĒNĪ > *vin(s)*, VINDĒMIA > *vendange*, DĒ > *de* Cf §§ 45–7

18 A change in the articulation of the component elements thus brings about a change in the form of the word, just as in an orchestra a change in the quality of the component notes alters the character of the chord But the word has an identity such as is denied to the component sounds It is recognized as a unit in virtue of the meaning it conveys or the function it fulfils It has both content and form The latter is a conventional grouping of sounds, which serves as the audible symbol of the former This implies that the word

may undergo a modification quite independent of sound-change The modification affects that phase of speech-activity which is purely psychological and precedes the mechanical reproduction of the sound-picture in the form of audible sounds The change of form thus brought about is generally involuntary, but it is not mechanical It is dependent upon the psychological processes of speech-activity and subject to the associations which characterize all thought When a word is called forth by an impulse of the brain, it may be accompanied by others which present some sort of affinity with it If they obtrude sufficiently, the image to be translated into sound is no longer clear-cut, it is coloured, or its outlines are cut into, by other images The result is often a new word preserving to greater or less degree the physiognomy of the old. Thus O F *il treuve* has given place to *il trouve* under the influence of those forms which are accented upon the ending and therefore regularly show *ou* (*trouvons*, *trouvez*, etc), cf §§ 309, 312 Such changes are sometimes described as sound-substitution, but the term is misleading in that it refers merely to the result What has happened is not that *ou* has been substituted for *eu*, but that a new form *il trouve* has been created on the analogy of *nous trouvons*, etc While it is easy to see how such changes of form take place in the speech of the individual, it is more difficult to account for their generalization, but it will be observed that they are particularly frequent in periods which lack a strong literary tradition (e g the Vulgar Latin and the Middle French periods) Weight of numbers and frequency of use generally decide the issue, but often the scales are so evenly weighted between the tendency to conserve the form and the associative influences that there is a prolonged period of hesitation, and the ultimate result may appear accidental It is precisely in this field that some of the most interesting linguistic problems are encountered, and, while it is impossible to formulate laws governing such phenomena, it is possible to classify them and to distinguish tendencies They reveal what is sometimes vaguely called the instinct of the language, the inherited

tendencies and predispositions which, while remaining constant over prolonged periods, may insensibly decline or grow in strength, or change

19 The changes which result from associative processes may be classified as follows

(*a*) Changes resulting from similarity of sound, function or meaning Levelling out of anomalies in conjugations and declensions (Chap IV *passim*), or levelling out as between cognate forms such as the simple word and its derivative (§ 531) Substitution of prefix or suffix (§ 523) Folk Etymology, a term loosely used to denote the modification of a little-known word under the influence of a well-known word with which it is fancied to have some etymological connection (§ 587) Contamination, the modification which results when two words for the same notion present themselves to the mind at the same time and fuse (ALTUM + Germ hōh > *halt*, *haut*, or O F *tempeste* + *orage* > O F *oreste*)

(*b*) Back-formation or analogical regressions As an example we may take the word *avoine* Under the influence of the movement to restore *wę* for *ę* (< *oi*) (§§ 72–3), we find in certain words an analogical (false) regression from *ē* (< *ēi*) to *wē*, which after being denasalized developed to *wa*, e g *avoine* for *aveine* (< AVĒNA)

(*c*) Changes which may be in part the result of conscious effort Changes in pronunciation under the influence of the written language, particularly in borrowed words (§§ 54, 110–11) Terms of endearment (*Margot* for *Marguerite*) Thieves' slang. Differentiation and reaction hesitation between two pronunciations is utilized to distinguish meanings (*frais* and *froid*, *raide* and *roide*, cf § 72), or a sound-change is not allowed to proceed to its logical conclusion if the result would be a homonym or a duplication (§§ 60, 127)

Apart from the cases cited under (*b*) and (*c*), where its rôle is difficult to assess, conscious intervention is comparatively rare One must take into account the activity of the

schoolmaster in imposing 'correct' pronunciation, the intervention of grammarians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the conscious deformation of words with a burlesque or euphemistic intention.

20 A special place must be assigned to certain tendencies which assert themselves sporadically and which sometimes result in a change of usage, viz Assimilation, Dissimulation, Metathesis They represent a form of sound-substitution, but result from the momentary escape of the organs of speech from the control of the mind. Assimilation is the substitution of a sound which has just been articulated, or is about to be articulated, for the normal sound Thus *écarquiller* has arisen from older *écartiller*, and in O F *cerchier* > *chercher* initial *ch* (= š) was by anticipation substituted for *c* (= s < ts) This form of assimilation, which might be called harmonic or dittological, is to be distinguished from the kind found in sound-change (§§ 86–95). Dissimilation results from a tendency to avoid the repetition of a particular sound at too short an interval This may result in the suppression of a sound or the substitution of another for it *cinq* < CINQUE for QUINQUE, *voisin* < *VĘCINUM for VĪCĪNUM, *pèlerin* < PELEGRINUM for PEREGRINUM, and popular *colidor* for *corridor*. Metathesis is the accidental transposition of a sound within a word. *fromage* for *formage* < (CASEUM) *FORMATICUM Sometimes two sounds exchange places. *moustique* for Spanish mosquito, *étincelle* < *STINCILLA for SCINTILLA

In the following chapter attention will be given primarily to sound-changes, and no attempt will be made to deal at length with the apparent exceptions indicated in § 19. Similarly the more detailed discussion of Learned words will be reserved for Chapter VI

Chapter III

PHONOLOGY

A *VOWELS*

1 VULGAR LATIN DEVELOPMENTS

(*a*) Accentuation

21 Nature of the accent It would appear that in Classical Latin the accent combined pitch and stress, i.e. the voice was raised on certain syllables, which were at the same time stressed In Vulgar Latin the musical element seems to have largely disappeared, leaving practically a pure stress (expiratory) accent This expiratory accent was particularly strong in Gaul, a feature which has sometimes been ascribed to Celtic influence

There were three degrees of stress a full stress (′), a secondary stress (ˋ), and a weak stress (relatively an absence of stress), whence a classification of tonic, countertonic, and atonic vowels or syllables respectively Thus in CÈREBÉLLUM the first E is countertonic, the third tonic, the counterfinal E and the final U are atonic The degree of stress is not absolute but relative The relative stress as between the syllables of a single word is generally constant Within a phrase or sentence the relative stress as between words is largely determined by their syntactic function, with the result that certain words, generally monosyllables (pronouns, NON, ES, ERAT, ERIT, BENE, MALE), may be articulated with full, secondary, or weak stress according to their function (cf § 145) Thus MĒ when it is fully stressed develops into *moi*, but when it is joined proclitically to the following or enclitically to the preceding word it is weakened to *me* (mə) and may subsequently lose its vowel (O F *nem* for *ne me*) Certain monosyllabic words are uniformly unaccented (DE, AD, IN, PER, PRO, ET, NEC, AUT, SI), also SINE, IBI, UBI, QUOMODO

22 PLACE OF THE ACCENT In Classical Latin the tonic accent falls, (*a*) in words of two syllables, on the first (CÁNEM), (*b*) in words of three or more syllables, on the penultimate syllable if that syllable is long (i e if it contains a long vowel, a diphthong, or alternatively a short vowel followed by a consonant belonging to the same syllable) (AMĀRE, CEREBĔLLUM), otherwise on the antepenultimate (TÉPĬDUM, ÍNTĔGRUM) [1] The initial syllable bears a secondary stress if there are one or more pre-tonic syllables (CÈREBĔLLUM)

In Vulgar Latin the accent remained on the same syllable, with the following exceptions

(*a*) Proparoxytons whose penultimate vowel is followed by explosive + *r* are paroxyton in V L Thus INTĔGRUM, TONĬTRUM and the like are accented upon the second syllable in V L

(*b*) When accented *i* and *e* are in hiatus with a following vowel, the accent passes to the latter, with the result that *i* and *e* become semi-consonantal and have the common value *j* Thus MULIEREM and PARIETEM are pronounced *moljere* and *par(j)ete* respectively in V L

(*c*) In numerals denoting tens the accent was thrown back upon the distinctive element (VÍGINTI, TRÍGINTA)

(*d*) Many changes of stress are due to analogy or result from morphological changes (§ 285) Thus in MERCURI DIES (> *mercredi*) the accent shifted to the first syllable by analogy with LÚNAE DIES, etc , CADÉRE appears for CÁDĔRE by assimilation to verbs of the Second Conjugation (§ 284) In the written language tradition was generally strong enough to resist these tendencies Compound verbs, if they were still felt to be such, were re-composed in V L , often with a corresponding shifting of the accent (CON-VĘNIT, RE-TĘNEI for C L CÓNVENIT, RÉTINET) It should be noted that re-composition does not always involve a change of accent (*ATTÁNGIT for ATTÍNGIT, etc)

[1] According to C L rules of syllabification single consonants, or groups consisting of explosive + *l* or *r*, go with the following syllable In the case of other groups the first consonant closes the preceding syllable

For the accentuation of borrowed words, cf §§ 499–501, 518–20

The stress accent is of capital importance for the development of the Romance languages,[1] resulting as it does in a threefold development of vowels according as they were tonic, countertonic or atonic (see below) Hardly less fundamental was the change whereby C L distinctions of quantity gave place in V L to distinctions of quality

(*b*) Quality

23. As a result of the tendency to give to long vowels a close, and to short vowels an open quality, the distinction of quantity led to a new distinction of quality in V L It is not clear at what date the process began, but by the end of the third century it is completed It may be tabulated thus

C L	Ă	Ā	Ĕ	Ē	Ĭ	Ī	Ŏ	Ō	Ŭ	Ū
	∨	|	∨	|	|	|	∨	|		
V L	*a*	*ę*	*e*	*ı*	*ę*		*o*		*u*	

It will be seen that V L does not perpetuate the distinction between Ă and Ā In the greater part of the Empire Ĭ and Ŭ became so open, and Ē and Ō became so close, that they fell together as *e* and *o* respectively Hence the confusion between E and I, O and U observable in Late Latin inscriptions and documents (SEMPETERNIS MUNIRIBUS DEPOTATA, C I L v, 8958) Accordingly the I in FĬDEM and the E in CRĒDO give the same result in French (*foi* and *crois*), similarly PLŌRAT > *ploure* > *pleure* and GŬLA > *goule* > *gueule*

The C L diphthongs AE, OE are reduced in V L to *ę* and *e* respectively (CAELUM = V L K'ĘLU > *ciel*, POENA = V L PENA > *peine*) In a few words it would appear from later developments that AE had been reduced to *e* (PRAEDA = V L PREDA, perhaps under the influence of PRESA (< PREHENSA), whence *proie*, SAEPEM = V L SEPE > O F *soif* 'hedge')

The only other diphthong that had persisted in C L was

[1] Cf G Paris, *Étude sur le rôle de l'accent latin dans la langue française*, Paris and Leipzig, 1862

AU, but it had in certain words been reduced in Classical times to O (CODA for CAUDA). This was probably a dialectal development the literary language generally maintained AU and it persisted in V L except in words which begin with AU and have U in the following syllable AUGUSTUM = V L AGOSTU > *aost* > *août*, AUGURIUM = V L AGURJU > *eur* > (*h*)*eur*, cf *bonheur*, *malheur* The *u* element of the diphthong here disappeared by dissimilation (§ 20) Beside the AU which was inherited from C L there existed in V.L a secondary *au* which developed from *av*'cons or *ab*'cons (§§ 42, 84)

(*c*) QUANTITY

24 Thus the C L distinction of quantity had been obliterated, but towards the end of the Empire there developed a new distinction of quantity This bore no relation to the C L but was determined by position If the vowel was free (followed by a single consonant or by explosive + *r*) it became long If it was blocked (followed by two or more consonants, except the combination explosive + *r*) it became short This is explained by the fact that in the former case the syllable ended in a vowel (hence called an open syllable), but in the latter case it ended in a consonant, thus leaving correspondingly less time for the articulation of the vowel, e g. FĒ-DE (FĪDEM), PĘ̄-TRA (PĒTRA), but VĔR-GA (VĪRGA), PǪ̆R-TA (PŎRTA) The new distinction of quantity has important consequences in the later development of tonic vowels (§§ 32–3) The distinction was less marked in the case of countertonic vowels, while atonic vowels do not appear to have been affected

It often happens that a vowel which was free in C L becomes blocked at some later stage through the loss of a vowel Thus VĪRĪDEM early became VERDE, whence *vert*, while in a word like HABĒTIS (>*avoiz*) the unaccented vowel was not lost until after the change Ę > *ei* (later *oi*) (§ 33) Conversely the early loss of N in the group NS left the preceding vowel free (MENSEM > MESE > *mois*) (§ 84)

The V L groups BJ, KJ, LJ, MJ, NJ, PJ, VJ block the preceding vowel, but accented *ę* and *ǫ* before such groups develop as though free (§ 36)

(*d*) Vowels in hiatus

25 Two contiguous vowels are said to be in hiatus if they belong to separate syllables The first vowel is therefore in an open syllable, but it does not always show the regular development of a free vowel because of the special phonetic condition created by the hiatus (see below) Moreover, in V L the hiatus was generally reduced in the following ways.

(*a*) Two identical vowels fused: CO(H)ORTEM > CǪRTE > *cour*, PRE(H)ENDERE > *prendre*

(*b*) Atonic I, E in hiatus with a following vowel became semi-consonantal *j* (FOLJA, VINJA) (§ 22 *b*) Atonic U in hiatus similarly became semi-consonantal *w* (ANNUALEM > O F *anvel*) (cf § 103)

26 In the following section we shall consider the evolution of the V L vowel system down to 1300. It will be seen that some of the changes there discussed begin in the V L period and are therefore shared by other Romance languages Others begin in the Gallo-Roman period and are shared by Provençal We have for convenience grouped together cognate phenomena of various dates but indicate their relative chronology wherever possible.

2 THE OLD FRENCH VOWEL SYSTEM

The development of V L vowels in Old French is conditioned above all by the degree of stress with which they are articulated We shall therefore consider in turn atonic, tonic and countertonic vowels

(*a*) Atonic vowels

27 Atonic vowels are naturally articulated with less tension than tonic or countertonic vowels and fine distinctions

of quality are obliterated, with the result that *ę* and *ẹ*, *ǫ* and *ọ* fall together Further, the V L quantitative distinction (if it ever existed in atonic vowels, cf § 24) was not maintained. Gallo-Roman therefore inherited from V.L the atonic vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, which were presumably short and were already tending to weaken and disappear

(i) THE UNACCENTED PENULT OF PROPAROXYTONS

28 The atonic vowel in this position offered least resistance and C L already shows traces of its effacement CAL(I)DUM, etc In the later stages of V L it disappeared in an ever-increasing number of words COM(I)TEM, CAM(E)RA, PLAT(A)-NUM, whence *comte*, *chambre*, *plane* The tendency to syncope was particularly pronounced in the V L of Gaul with its strong expiratory stress (§ 21) The result is that Old French possesses no proparoxytons except a few Learned words introduced after the reduction to paroxytons had taken place (*ángele*, *imágene*, *húmele*, *vírgene*, etc) But these were likewise reduced before the end of the Old French period (*ange*, *image*, *humble*, *vierge*)

(ii) FINAL AND COUNTERFINAL VOWELS

29 These persist in V L in a weakened form with a tendency to confuse *e* and *i*, *o* and *u* In Old French, *a* remains in a weakened form as so-called feminine *e* (= ə) (cf § 64) BONA > *bonne*, AMAS > *aimes* This change dates from about the end of the eighth century *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* generally disappear (about the seventh century), but they persist in the form of the weakened supporting vowel *ə* in the following cases (*a*) before a group of consonants (AMENT > *aiment*), (*b*) after a group of consonants requiring a supporting vowel, notably cons + *l*, *r*, *m*, *n*, excepting *kl*, *gr*, *gn*, *rm*, *rn* (DUPLUM > *double*, PATREM > *pedre* > *père*, *HELMU (Germ h e l m) > *helme* > *heaume*, ALNUM > *alne* > *aune*). The group may be primary, i e inherited as such from Latin, or secondary, i e developed subsequently through the loss of a vowel (MASCULUM > MASC'LU > *masle* > *mâle*) In the absence of any supporting vowel an

ə is developed (INSIMUL > ENSEM'L > *ensemble*, MINOR > MEN'R > *mendre* later *moindre* ≠ *moins*) It will be seen that *ə* persists even after the reduction of the group which originally required the supporting vowel (*père*, *heaume*, *aune*, *mâle*) For the apparent exceptions presented by borrowed words, cf § 500

30 Where three syllables precede the tonic, the vowel of each of the first two normally bears a secondary stress, but analogical influences have interfered with the normal development (ÎNGÈNERÁRE > *engendrer*, RÈCÙPERÁRE > *recouvrer*, ÀMÀRITÚDINEM > *amertume*, but LÌBERÀTIÓNEM > *livraison*, *ÀRBORÌSCÉLLUM > *arbreissel*, Mod F *arbrisseau*)

For the development of final and counterfinal vowels in hiatus, cf § 44

(*b*) Tonic and countertonic vowels

31 The V L quantitative distinction was fully maintained in the case of tonic vowels and is responsible for a twofold development according as the vowel was long or short by position (§ 24) The strong expiratory stress with which they were articulated further caused them to absorb or attract neighbouring sounds, thus modifying their own point of articulation or forming diphthongs The same factors have to be taken into account in the case of countertonic vowels, but the stress being weaker, they are less potent We shall in the first place consider the development of tonic and countertonic vowels independently of such modifying influences and then consider the effect of the latter [1]

(1) TONIC BLOCKED VOWELS

32 Tonic vowels when blocked, i e short, remained unchanged, except that the point of articulation of *o* changed slightly and it became *u*, which in the course of the Old French period probably became still more close (> *u*) The point of articulation of *u* (< ū) shifted forward and upward,

[1] Cf the tables given in §§ 45–7, where examples will be found

giving *u*; but this change affects every *u* (< ū) regardless of stress or position *au*, whether primary or secondary (§ 23), became *ǫ*, that is, a monophthong intermediate in position between the two constituent elements of the diphthong

(ii) TONIC FREE VOWELS

33 Tonic vowels when free, i e. long, tend to diphthongize The first stage in this process was a doubling of the vowel In virtue of its being in an open syllable, the vowel was lengthened, and coming as it did under a strong expiratory stress, we may assume that doubling resulted from the concentration of stress on the beginning and end of the vowel, the middle portion being slurred Taking *ę́* as an example, the first stage would be *ę́ę́* leading up to *ę́ę́* Then followed a differentiation of the two elements, facilitated perhaps by unequal distribution of stress Thus *ę́ę́* > *ę́ę* > *ię* > *ié* Similarly *é* > *éé* > *éi* > *ǫ́i*, *ǫ́* > *ǫ́ǫ́* > *óǫ* > *úǫ* > *úe* > *uę́* > *uǫ́*, *ó* > *óó* > *óu* > *ǫ́u* The vowels *i* and *u* did not diphthongize, the reason being that, as they are the extreme front and back vowels respectively, their point of articulation is more stable and no differentiation takes place As for tonic free *a*, it appears in French as the monophthong *e*, but indirect evidence points to *aa* > *aę* as the intermediate stages *au* regularly became *o* (§ 23)

(iii) COUNTERTONIC VOWELS

34 The articulation of countertonic vowels was less tense than that of tonic vowels and therefore the V L qualitative and quantitative distinctions were less fully maintained The result was on the one hand confusion of *ę* and *e*, and to some extent of *ǫ* and *o*, and on the other a tendency to shorten all vowels Countertonic vowels therefore do not diphthongize and they tend to weaken Their weak articulation renders them particularly liable to various sporadic changes (cf § 20)

Dissimilation *i* is dissimilated to *e* before following tonic *i* in DĪVĪNUM > *devin*, VĪCĪNUM (V L VER'INU) > *veisin* > *voisin*, FĪNĪRE > O F *fenir*

Assimilation *e* is assimilated to a following tonic *a* in SĬLVATICUM > *salvage* > *sauvage*, *BĬLANCIA > *balance*

e > *a* under the opening influence of a following *l* or *r* in *ZELOSUM > *jalos*, *jaloux*, MERCATUM > *marchié* > *marché*, PER > *par* (preposition and prefix) This is perhaps a dialectal pronunciation which the literary language adopted only in certain words such as the above, cf BELARE > *beler*, PERMITTERE > *permettre*

For the special form which the influence of labials, nasals, and palatals took in the case of countertonic vowels, see below

The development of countertonic *o* and *u* (< ū) presents many irregularities, owing partly to the loose articulation of countertonic vowels (FRŪMENTUM > *froment*, PŎRCELLUM > *pourceau*, TŎRMENTUM > *tourment*), partly to the analogical influence of cognate forms (§ 531) and of orthography (§§ 65–7, 155) Many apparent exceptions to the regular change *o* > *u* are due to the fact that the words in question are later borrowings (*novembre*, *opinion*, *volume*) or have been remodelled under the influence of Latin (*colombe*, *colonne* for earlier *coulombe*, *coulonne*)

The countertonic vowel disappeared early between initial consonant and *r* in DIRECTUM > *dreit* > *droit*, *DIRECTIARE > *drecier* > *dresser*, *VERACUM > *vrai*, *CORROTULARE > *croller* > *crouler*

(*c*) Modifying influences

(1) PALATALS

35 The influence of palatals on vowels is progressive or regressive and shows itself in the following ways

(*a*) Palatalization of the vowel This we may define as a shifting of the point of articulation upward and forward towards the front of the hard palate Thus the passage from *u* (< ū) to *ü* may be described as a palatalization of *u*, the fact that it takes place independently suggests that the tendency to palatalization was naturally strong in Gaul, and this would in its turn account for the readiness with which

Old French vowels attracted a palatal element Palatalization of vowels is generally progressive, e g countertonic free *a* is raised to *e* by a preceding palatal (CABALLUM > *cheval*)

(*b*) The shifting of the point of articulation may take place while the vowel is actually being articulated, i e the shape of the oral cavity may be modified during the emission of breath which produces the vowel, the tongue being arched towards the hard palate at the beginning or at the end of the emission The result is, not a uniform palatalization of the whole vowel, but a palatalization of the initial or of the final stage, in other words a diphthong consisting of *i* + vowel or vowel + *i* (CANEM > *chien*, *PECTORINA > *peitrine* > *poitrine*) This is the process which is sometimes referred to as the disengaging or giving off of a yod (= *j*) by the palatal, the yod combining as semi-vocalic *i̯* with the vowel *i̯* is simply absorbed by a contiguous *i*, whether the latter be a monophthong or an element of a diphthong (DĪCERE > *dire*, RĒGEM > *rei*) Its adjunction may result in the creation of a triphthong beginning and ending in *i*, in which case the triphthong is reduced to *i* (CĒRA > **cieire* > *cire*, similarly NĔGAT > *nie*, MĔDIUM > *mi*, MERCĒDEM > *merci*) In like manner tonic free *a* between palatals gives *i* through **iei* (JACET > *gist*)

36 The palatal may affect the vowel directly or indirectly·

(i) The palatal may itself combine in the form of *i* (cf § 92) with the preceding vowel to form a diphthong (PLAGA > *plaie*, MAJOR > MAJ'R > *maire*, HŎDIE > (H)QJE > (*h*)*ui*)

(ii) The palatal may persist (intact or modified) and at the same time disengage an *i* sound which combines with the vowel (CARUM > *chier* through K'AR > *k'ier* > *t'ier* > *tšier*, *CARRICARE > *chargier*)

(iii) The palatal may first of all palatalize a neighbouring consonant which is later depalatalized, the palatal element combining in the form of *i* with the vowel (CEREVISIA > *cervoise* through the stages K'ERVES'A > *t'erveise* > *tserveise*, CŎRIUM > *cuir*, VŌCEM > *voiz*, GLŌRIA > *gloire*, DORMITŌRIUM > *dortoir*)

l' is not depalatalized if it remains medial or final, and it

therefore does not give off an *i* sound The *i* which appears in spelling is merely part of the compound graphy *ill* or *il* for palatalized *l'* (*l* mouillé) The preceding vowel does not show diphthongization except in the case of tonic *ę* and *ǫ* (§ 91) (VĔTULUM > VĘKLU > *vieil*, FŎLIA > *feuille*, but VALEAM > *vaille*, AURICULA > *oreille*, FILIA > *fille*, *GENUCULUM > *genouil*) If by the loss of a vowel medial *l'* is subsequently brought into contact with a following consonant, it is depalatalized but does not give off an *i* sound, whence *travauz* (< *traval's*), *vieuz*, *genouz*, etc For the influence of *n'*, cf § 40

(iv) The groups *bj*, *kj*, *mj*, *vj*, *pj* preserved the syllabification *b-j*, *k-j*, *m-j*, *v-j*, *p-j* The preceding vowel was thus blocked and remained unchanged, with the exception of tonic *ę* and *ǫ* (*LĔVIUM > *liège*, but CAVEA > *cage*), *k* alone was later palatalized (*GLACIA > *glace*), in the remaining cases *j* developed as though initial (§§ 91, 93)

37 Special mention must be made of the phenomenon known as mutation (= the German *Umlaut*), which may be described as the palatalization of a tonic vowel by a long final *i* The vowels *e* and *ę* are raised to *i* (FĒCĪ > *fis*, TĔNUĪ > *tin(s)*) and *o* to *u* (FŬĪ > *fui* later replaced by analogical *fus*) Other vowels remain unaffected

(ii) NASALS

38 Nasalization is the assimilation of a vowel to the following nasal consonant (*m*, *n*, *n'*), i e the uvula, which closes the nasal passage for all oral (non-nasal) sounds, is allowed to open in anticipation of the following nasal consonant, thus giving a nasal quality to the vowel Open vowels nasalize more readily and more markedly than close vowels Consequently *i* and *u* were the last vowels to be nasalized and the nasalization was never very pronounced In Old French, tonic vowels were nasalized, whether they were free or blocked Countertonic vowels were nasalized when blocked, but when free, only *o* was nasalized (SŎNARE > *sonner*, DŌNARE > *donner*) The date at which the various vowels were nasalized cannot be determined precisely, but *a* and *e* were probably

nasalized before the ninth century, the remainder between the ninth and twelfth centuries

39 The diversion of the current of air (nasalization) is but one aspect of the influence of nasals They also change the point of articulation of the preceding vowel and make it more close, the vowels affected being ę (< blocked ĕ) and ǫ (< blocked ŏ), which become *e* and *o* respectively and are then nasalized This same influence has prevented the diphthongization of *o* when followed by a nasal Old French thus originally possessed the nasal vowels *ã*, *ẽ*, *ĩ*, *õ*, *ũ*, but before the end of the Old French period the natural tendency for nasalized vowels to become open had already asserted itself In the case of *ẽ* this led to a lowering through *ę̃* to *ã* as early as the twelfth century, except before *n'* The diphthongization of tonic free ę, *e*, ǫ was not arrested, the result being the nasalized diphthongs *iẽ*, *ę̃i*, *uõ* (later *uẽ*) Free tonic *a* before a nasal gave *ãi* (later *ẽi*), which lends support to the suggestion that *ae* (*ai*) was the intermediate stage in the normal development *a* > *e* (§ 33)

40 *n'* nasalized a preceding vowel in the same way as *m*, *n* When it became blocked or final, *n'* was depalatalized and gave off an *i*, which combined with the preceding vowel (§ 89) When it remained medial it was not depalatalized and did not give off an *i*, but the palatal nature of the consonant prevented the lowering of *ẽ* to *ã* CASTANEA > *chastaigne* (= tšastãn'ə), DIGNAT > *deigne* (= dẽn'ə), LINEA > *ligne*, CICONIA > *ceogne*, Mod F *cigogne*

(iii) LABIALS

41 The influence of labial consonants is progressive or regressive It is weaker than that of palatals and nasals, and its effect is to round the front vowels *e*, *i* (particularly in the countertonic position), the normal result being *o* and *u* respectively (*BĪBERATICUM > *bevrage* > *beuvrage* > *breuvage*, *AFFĪBULARE > *afibler* > *affubler*), but there are many exceptions (*FEMARIUM > *femier* > *fumier*, GEMELLUM > *gemel* > *jumel* later *jumeau*)

42 *b* (<V or B, §§ 23, 84), if brought into contact with a following consonant, is vocalized and combines as *u* with the preceding vowel (AVICELLUM > AUK'ELLU > *oisel*, PARABOLA > PARAULA > *parole*)

For the influence of the semi-consonantal *w*, which resulted from atonic *u* in hiatus, see §§ 345(3), 348, 350

(iv) VOCALIZATION OF L

43 Before a consonant, *l* had a velar pronunciation (*ł*) in Vulgar Latin, that is to say, the tongue was arched towards the velum It therefore approximated to the normal tongue-position for *u*, and in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries *ł* lost its liquid (consonantal) quality, persisting in the form of vocalic *u* (§ 45, col *e*)

If by the loss of a vowel Latin intervocalic *l* was subsequently brought into contact with a following consonant, it likewise took a velar pronunciation and was vocalized, combining as *u* with the preceding vowel But in this case the preceding vowel had begun to evolve as a free vowel, whence PALOS > *pels* > *pieus*, *CAELOS > *ciels* > *cieus*, SŌLOS > *sous*, *seus* (later *seuls*), SŎLET > **sueut* > *sieut* (cf § 44 *a*)

(v) VOWELS IN HIATUS

44 Latin cases of hiatus (primary) have been dealt with in §§ 22 *b*, 25 The loss of intervocalic consonants in Gallo-Roman (§ 98) created further such cases (secondary hiatus), which were reduced as they arose

(*a*) Tonic vowel + *u* was early reduced *a* + *u* > *ou* (CLAVUM > *clou*), *ę* + *u* > *ieu* (GRAECUM > *Grieu*); *ǫ* + *u* gave a triphthong *ueu*, the first element of which became *i* by dissimilation (LŎCUM > **lueu* > *lieu*, JŏCUM > **jueu* > *jieu*), or was absorbed by a preceding labial or velar (FŏCUM > **fueu* > *feu*, similarly SARCŎPHĂGUM > *sarkeu*, CŎQ(U)UM > *keu*), *o* + *u* > *ou* > *ou* (DUOS > *dous* > *deus*, LUPUM > *lou* > *leu*) The diphthong *eu* of Celtic and Germanic loan-words was treated as though the two

vowels were in hiatus (Celtic leuca > *lieue*, Germ speut > *espieut* (later *épieu*), Germ streup > *estrieu*)

(*b*) Tonic vowel + *i* was early reduced: *a* + *i* > *ái* (AMA(V)I > *amai*)

(*c*) Countertonic *a* + tonic vowel This secondary hiatus persisted in Old French, but *a* was weakened to *a* (MATURUM > *meur*, A(U)GURIUM > *eur*, *SAPUTUM > *seu*) In S E and S W dialects and sporadically in other dialects *a* is found for *e* (*fahu* for *feu* < *FATUTUM formed on FATUM)

With the progressive weakening and disappearance of intervocalic consonants, many further cases of hiatus were created in the Old French period (§ 60)

[For §§ 45–7, see pp 43–5]

48 The accompanying tables summarize the development of tonic and countertonic vowels down to about the middle of the twelfth century To complete the information there given the following should be added

Tonic vowel + secondary *l* (< *l* or *l'*), §§ 43, 36 (iii)
Tonic vowel + *l'*, § 36 (iii)
Tonic vowel + *n'* (medial), § 40
Tonic free A between palatals, § 35 (*b*)
Countertonic A in hiatus, § 44 (*c*)
Countertonic free A preceded by palatal, § 35 (*a*)
Countertonic free O before nasal, § 38
Sporadic developments affecting countertonic vowels, § 34

49 The quality of *e* (< tonic free A) The original quality of this *e* is uncertain, but down to the middle of the twelfth century it never rimes with *e* and rimes with *ę* only in a few words (*ert*, *Deu*, etc) If we bear in mind such rimes and if we accept the view that the intermediate stage in the change A > *e* was *aę* (§ 33), we may conclude that *e* (< A) was still more open than *ę* and approached in quality the vowel of English *can* There may also have been a quantitative distinction, *e* (< A) being longer than *e* or *ę* From about 1150 this threefold distinction begins to give place to a twofold distinction, *e*, whatever its provenance, being pronounced *ę* in

45 TONIC VOWELS—BLOCKED

CL	VL	(a) Independent	(b) + *i*	(c) Before *m*, *n*	(d) Before *n'* + cons or *n'* final	(e) + *l*
ă ā	a	a PARTEM > *part*	á1 > ę́1 > ę FACTUM > *fait*	ã ANNUM > *an*	ã́1 > ę̃́1 PLANGIT > *plaint*	áu SALVUM > *sauf*
ĕ ae	ę	ę TĔSTA > *teste*	1 LĔCTUM > *lit*	ē > ã VĔNTUM > *vent*	ĭ INGĔNIUM > *engin*	éau > eáu BĔLL(O)S > *bęls* > *beaus*
ē ī oe	e	e MĪTTERE > *metre*	é1 > ǫ́1 TĒCTUM > *toit*	ē > ã PĪNDERE > *fendre*	ę́1 FĪNGĔRE > *feindre*	éu > óu CAPĪLL(O)S > *chevęls* > *cheveus*
ī	1	1 VĪLLA > *ville*	1 DĪC(I)T > *dit*	ĭ QUĪNTUM > *quint*	ĭ SCRĪNIUM > *escrin*	1 *FĪL(O)S > *fis*
ŏ	ǫ	ǫ PŎRTA > *porte*	ú1 > uí NŎCTEM > *nuit*	õ PŎNTEM > *pont*	ő́1 LŎNGE > *loing*	óu FŎLL(E)S > *fous*
ō ŭ	o	u RŪPTA > *route*	ó1 ANGŬSTIA > *angoisse*	õ ŬNDA > *onde*	ő́1 PŪNCTUM > *point*	óu AUSCŬLTAT > *escoute*
ū	u	u NŪLLUM > *nul*	u1 > uí FRŪCTUM > *fruit*	ű *ALLŪM(I)NAT > *allume*	ű́1 > uí JŪNIUM > *juin*	ú NŪLL(O)S > *nus*
au	au	—	—	—	—	—

46 TONIC VOWELS—FREE

		(*a*)	(*b*)	(*c*)	(*d*)
C L	V L	Independent	After a palatal	+ *i*	Before *m*, *n*
ă ā	a	e MARE > *mer*	ie ie before *m*, *n* CARUM > *chier* CANEM > *chien*	á1 > ę́1 > ę PLAGA > *plaie*	ā1 > ę̃1 MANUM > *main*
ĕ ae	ę	ie PĔDEM > *pied*	ie CAELUM > *ciel*	1 LĔGO > *li(s)*	ie BĔNE > *bien*
ē ĭ oe	e	é1 > ǫ́1 HABĒRE > *aveir* > *avoir*	1 ĭ before *m*, *n* CĒRA > *cire* RACĪMUM > *raisin*	é1 > ǫ́1 RĒGEM > *rei* > *roi*	ę̃1 VĪNA > *veine*
ī	i	i VĪVUM > *vif*	—	i AMĪCA > *amie*	ĭ VĪNUM > *vin*
ŏ	ǫ	úo > úc > uę́ > uo BŎVEM > *buef*	—	u1 > uí HŎDIE *hui*	uō > uę̄ CŎMIS > *cuens*
ō ŭ	o	ǫ́u > ǫ́u NEPŌTEM > *neveu*	—	ǫ́1 VŌCEM > *voiz*	õ DŌNUM > *don*
ū	u	u MŪRUM > *mur*	—	ui > uí LŪCENT > *luisent*	ũ ŪNA > *une*
au	au	ǫ AURUM > *or*	—	ǫ́1 GAUDIA > *joie*	—

47 COUNTERTONIC VOWELS

CL	VL	(a) Independent	(b) + ɟ	(c) Before *m*, *n* + cons	(d) Before *n*′ + cons	(e) + *l*
ă ā	a	a BARONEM > *baron* ARGENTUM > *argent*	ái > ɛ́i > ę RATIONEM > *raison*	ā̆ MANTELLUM > *mantel*	ā́i > ɛ̄́i *PLANCTIVUM > *plaintif*	áu FALCONEM > *faucon*
ĕ ae ē ĭ oe	ę e	e LĔVARE > *lever* VĪRTUTEM > *vertu*	éi > ói *PI CTORINA > *poitrine*	ē > ā̆ ĪNVOLARE > *embler*	ēi CĪNCTURA > *ceinture*	óu *FĪL(I)CARIA > *fougiere*
ī	ı	ı VĪLLANUM > *vilain*	ı IĪTIONEM > *tison*	Ī LĪNTEOLUM > *linceul*	—	ı *FĪL(I)CELLA > *ficelle*
ŏ	ǫ	free > o > u blocked > ǫ PRŎBARE > *prouver* MŎRTALEM > *mortel*	ói *PŎCARIUM > *pouer*	ō COMPUTARE > *conter*	ŏ́i *ACŎGNITARE > *acointier*	óu SŎL(I)DARE > *souder*
ō ŭ	o	u PLŌRARE > *plourer*	ói PŌTIONEM > *poison*	ō̆ NŌM(I)NARE > *nommer*	ŏ́i PŬNGERE + HABET > *poindra*	óu CŪLTELLUM > *coutel*
ū	u	u *ŪSARE > *user*	uı > uí I ŪCENTEM > *luisant*	ū̆ I ŪNAE DIEM > *lundi*	—	—
au	au	ǫ PAUSARE > *poser*	ói *GAUDIOSUM > *joieus* AV(I)CELLUM > *oisel*	—	—	—

a closed syllable (i e before a consonant which continued to be sounded), *ę* whenever by the loss of the following consonant it had come to be in an open syllable

The distinction between *ęi* (< *ęi* or < *au* + *i* or < *a* + *ui*) and *oi* (< *ǫ* + *i*) disappeared in the course of the twelfth century; cf the subsequent identical development of *oi* in *avoir*, *roi*, *loi*, *joie*, and *voiz*, *angoisse*

50 Towards the end of the twelfth century the French language thus possessed the oral vowels *a*, *ę*, *e*, *i*, *ǫ*, *u*, *ų*, *ə*, the oral diphthongs *áu*, *ié*, *ói*, *óu*, *ǫ́u*, *uí*, *uǫ́*, the triphthongs *eáu*, *iéu*, the nasal vowels *ã*, *ẽ*, *ĩ*, *õ*, *ũ*, the nasal diphthongs *éi*, *ié*, *ǫ́i*, *uę́*, *uí* Further changes, some of which had already begun before 1200, transformed this system in the course of the thirteenth century Of these the principal are

Tonic *o* (< AU) > *o*, except when preceded or followed by *r* (cf §§ 53, 61)

The first element of the ascending diphthongs *ié*, *uí*, *ié*, *uí* becomes semi-consonantal, whence *je*, *wi*, *jẽ*, *wĩ* Similarly *iéu* > *jo*

The reduction of *áu* to *u*, *ǫ́u* and *uǫ́* to *o* is practically completed by the end of the century

oi, whatever its provenance, came to be pronounced *oę* before a consonant in the thirteenth century, and the first element tended to become semi-consonantal (*wę*) In other positions *oi* was maintained down to the sixteenth century Similarly *ǫ́i* > *wę̃*

uę existed in only a few words (*buen*, *cuens*, etc) and may have been a dialectal development Such forms have given place to forms with undiphthongized *õ* (*bon*)

51 Towards the end of the thirteenth century we have therefore the oral vowels *a*, *ę*, *e*, *i*, *ǫ*, *o*, *u*, *ų*, *o*, *ə*, the oral diphthongs *áu*, *ói*, the triphthong *eáu*, the nasal vowels *ã*, *ẽ*, *ĩ*, *õ*, *ũ*, the nasal diphthongs *ẽi*, *õi*, and the following combinations of semi-consonant and vowel *je*, *jo*, *wę*, *wi*, *jẽ* *wę̃*, *wĩ*

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries present no clear-cut evolution of this system, but rather a conflict of old habits

of pronunciation and new tendencies, complicated by dialectal features As this conflict continues into the sixteenth century and is reflected in modern pronunciation, we shall for convenience reserve the discussion of such new tendencies (elimination of *ə*, reduction of *wę* to *ę*, *je* to *e*, denasalization, etc) for the following section No new vowel sounds (if we except variations in the quality of certain vowels) developed in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and we shall therefore take as our point of departure the vowel system as constituted at the end of the thirteenth century and examine its development in Modern French

3. MIDDLE AND MODERN FRENCH DEVELOPMENTS[1]

52 We have seen that the development of the Old French vowel system was conditioned by two factors, accent and position (closed or open syllable) In so far as its evolution continued to be natural (mechanical), the same factors remain decisive But a fundamental difference between Modern French and Old French lies in the progressive elimination of the tonic accent (the stress falling on a particular syllable of a word) in favour of the group-accent (§§ 145–9) The fact that the group-accent falls almost invariably upon the tonic syllable of the last word in the speech-group is largely responsible for the comparative stability of tonic vowels The tendency to stress the initial syllable (particularly the initial syllable of a group, cf § 147) produces still further fluctuation in the articulation of countertonic vowels Consequently the quality and quantity of the vowels of a particular word may vary according to the place which the word occupies in the speech-group It is therefore inexact to attach to a particular symbol (*a*, *e*, etc) in a given word one definite quality, and more correct to describe it as denoting a zone within which the quality of the vowel gravitates according to its place in connected speech But various factors have combined to

[1] For this section we have utilized extensively the works of Rosset and Herzog Cf also the many interesting observations in Dauzat, *Histoire*, pp 126–51

restrict these fluctuations The consciousness of the word as a unit, which obviously grows stronger with the increasing influence of the written language in modern times, is the most important of these and fosters the generalization of *one* pronunciation for each word For words which constantly recur in the same position or which uniformly bear a sense-accent (e g numerals) the selection is made naturally. For other words orthography, the intervention of grammarians, fashion, and various analogical influences narrow the zone of variation But in spite of levelling influences the number of words presenting such slight fluctuations is very large Certain vowels (*a* and *e*) are more affected than others It is mainly to the variation in stress and, to a lesser degree, in syllabification that such fluctuations as Modern French presents must be attributed It is no contradiction of this to say, for example, that certain groups or individuals favour one particular variety of *a* (§ 55), what is implied is that in their speech the fluctuations are regularly confined within the narrower limits of palatal or velar *a* We may say that in the articulation of vowels Modern French presents us with varieties of speech which develop within a zone so small that they are covered by a common orthographic symbol and do not constitute a striking departure from standard usage

The weakening of the tonic stress renders the vowel less subject to the modifying influence of neighbouring consonants, and Modern French offers in this respect a striking contrast with Old French

53 The new law of position which begins to operate as early as the twelfth century (§ 49) results in a new differentiation of quality which cuts across etymological distinctions The tendency is to pronounce with a close quality vowels in an open syllable, and with an open quality vowels in a closed syllable (i e followed by a consonant belonging to the same syllable) The first vowel to be affected was *e* (twelfth century), followed by *o* (thirteenth century), and somewhat later by *o* The tendency reaches its climax in the sixteenth century The position of the vowel may change in the course

of time through the elimination of a consonant (e g. *s* before consonant) or the reduction of hiatus (*e-age* > *âge*) accompanied by lengthening of the vowel, or through the creation of a new group of consonants by the loss of a vowel (§§ 60–1) The loss of final *ə* (§ 62) has caused the preceding vowel to become blocked (*père* now pronounced *pɛ̣ r*, but as late as the seventeenth century *pe-rə*) The resulting conflict between the old and the new is reflected in a hesitation between the open and close qualities, which often extends over prolonged periods. A further cause of hesitation is the tendency to carry the final consonant over into the next syllable whenever a word beginning with a vowel follows (§ 137)

54 The natural evolution of the French language is therefore a continuous process, the same in kind from beginning to end, and showing at most a change of direction, which was initiated towards the end of the thirteenth century As in the Old French period, the mechanical (phonetic) evolution is constantly interrupted by various analogical changes These are particularly common in the Middle French period and are to be observed above all in the conjugation of the verb But what distinguishes the later development of the language is the intervention of various external factors which arrest, reverse, retard or modify the natural evolution They represent the application of the selective procedure which is implied in the formation and conscious elaboration of a standard spoken language The conception of a standard spoken language is an ideal which appears to have been but dimly envisaged before the sixteenth century, imperfectly conceived by the grammarians of that age, defined and in a large measure realized in the seventeenth century Its neutral position between the learned and popular tendencies exposed it to influences from both directions Of the two the learned influence is the more clearly discernible, it dates from the introduction of numerous Learned words in the later Middle French period Such words are pronounced in the first place as written, and give the initial impetus to the tendency to model pronunciation upon spelling With the

great increase in the numbers of those who read, this tendency is strengthened and extended. The habit of investing Popular words with a written form approximating as nearly as possible to Latin (§ 163) invited further deviations from traditional pronunciation on the part of those who made any pretension to learning and culture There thus developed two pronunciations, a learned and a popular The segmentation of the latter, with the resulting opposition between a standard usage and popular usage in the narrow sense (the usage of the 'petit peuple'), takes place somewhat later, and there is no direct evidence of it until the sixteenth century From that time onwards the history of French pronunciation is the story of the gradual extension of the standard usage to an ever-widening circle, of the efforts to regularize and codify it, of the give-and-take which characterizes its relation to the learned pronunciation on the one hand and the popular on the other In tracing the evolution of modern standard usage we have therefore to consider the influence of orthography and of Latin, the intervention of the schoolmaster, the dictates of fashion, the adoption or rejection of popular tendencies We may distinguish three stages in this evolution a period of hesitation and uncertainty which extends from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, a period of sifting, stabilizing and codifying which embraces the greater part of the sixteenth and the whole of the seventeenth century, and a period of liquidation, in which the bulk of the decisions taken in the seventeenth century are ratified and accepted by all, if and when they speak 'correct' French The consolidation of the work accomplished in the seventeenth century has been rendered easier by the many factors which make for standardization, such as the spread of education, the development of the press, military service, administrative centralization The attempt of the many to conform to 'correct' usage is accompanied by the adoption of certain popular features (*oi* = wa, *ill* = j) and a growing tendency to model pronunciation upon the written word Apart from such phenomena the sounds of the language have remained stable since the seventeenth

century At most they have developed slight differentiations of quality in the already existing range of vowels

A

55 There is no evidence to indicate that the modern distinction between the front or palatal a and the back or velar ɑ obtained in Old French The tendency to confuse *e* and *a* which is noticeable in Old French (cf § 56) supports the view that O F *a* was normally a front vowel, its point of articulation approaching that of *ę* [1] The velar pronunciation (ɑ) seems to have developed gradually in the Middle French period and is connected with the lengthening of *a* which resulted from the absorption of a hiatus vowel (*e-age* > *âge*) or the loss of a consonant (*haste* > *hâte*) In such cases *a* has generally been supplied with a circumflex accent The modern tendency to favour the palatal pronunciation when the letter *a* has no such accent may be taken to mark the persistence of an old habit Velar ɑ is found in the sixteenth century before pre-consonantal or final *s* (*paste*, *bas*) which had become mute (§§ 123, 125) and before intervocal *s* or *z* (*fasse*, *base*) Modern French maintains velar ɑ in such cases but presents many exceptions (cf Nyrop, *Manuel*, §§ 104 and 173) In the seventeenth century long *a* is always velar, but owing to changes in syllabification and to the influence of neighbouring consonants, both palatal a and velar ɑ can now be either long or short (*patte* = pat, *part* = pa r, *paille* = paj, *pâte* = pɑ t), though generally tonic ɑ is long The palatal and velar qualities are clearly recognizable, but the distribution of the two sounds varies very greatly, some Parisians preferring ɑ and some Frenchmen from the provinces a As a general rule a is favoured whenever the vowel bears no circumflex accent or is unstressed, and it predominates in rapid speech After a labial, velar ɑ is usual and one would accordingly expect *wɑ* (orth *oi*), but *wa* is preferred (§ 73) Before *n'*, *a* has sometimes become *e* under

[1] Cf M K Pope, a, ā, ɑ, ɑ̄n, *in French and Anglo-Norman* (in *Kastner Miscellany*, 1932, pp 396–402)

the influence of spelling, *aign* being interpreted as *ai* (= *e*) + *gn* (= *n'*), *araignée*, *saigner*, etc

ER AR

56 If our assumption that O F *a* was normally palatal (i e front) be correct, any factor which tended to make *ę* still more open would lead to a hesitation between *ę* and *a* Such an influence was exerted by a following *r* (cf English *clerk*, *Derby*, etc), particularly in an initial syllable [1] While there is ample evidence of the resulting confusion between *er* and *ar* in Old French and Middle French, it is not until the sixteenth century that it becomes general It appears to have been common in the dialects of the Centre and particularly in popular Parisian speech With the gradual development of a refined usage and the growing influence of grammarians, the distinction between a popular or dialectal pronunciation (*ar*) and a cultured pronunciation (*er*) hardened, the claims of the latter being strengthened by orthography, which generally preserved etymological *er* It soon became an affectation to pronounce *er* for *ar* in words where the latter was etymological To some extent the fluctuation between *er* and *ar* was eliminated in the sixteenth century, but in the majority of cases the modern pronunciation was definitely established in the seventeenth In most words the traditional form triumphed (*charrette*, *chariot*, *charme*, *carquois*, *jargon*, *sarment*, *apercevoir*, *herse*, *serge*, *tertre*, etc) In some *er* triumphed over etymological *ar* (*asperge*, *cercueil*, *guerir*, *serpe*), in others *ar* replaced etymological *er* (*dartre*, *harceler*, *marquer*) In a few words the hesitation persisted down to the eighteenth century (*catarrhe*, *épervier*), *cercelle* was still in use beside *sarcelle* in the nineteenth century The triumph of *er* or *ar* respectively depended upon a variety of factors, the authority of grammarians, changing fashion, orthography, and frequency of use Thus the aping of the cultivated pronunciation (*er*) by the lower classes led to a reaction in favour of *ar*, and this may

[1] Cf also the passage from *e* to *a* when nasalized (§ 39) and the development of a glide *a* between *ę* and *u* (< *l*, §§ 45*e*, 71)

account for the triumph of *ar* in *boulevard*.[1] Words of a technical or popular character, being spurned by the polite society of the seventeenth century, naturally preserve the popular pronunciation (*dartre, hargneux, parpaing*) The popular tendency to open *e* to *a* is also found in other positions, but orthography proved a sufficient deterrent except in the case of *wę* (< *oi*), cf § 73

E

57 We have seen that the Old French distinction between *e*, *ę* and *e* (< A) had been obliterated and that from the thirteenth century *e*, whatever its provenance, tended to be pronounced *ę* before a consonant, and *e* when final. The tendency of *e* to become *ę* was more marked before some consonants than before others, with the result that in many cases there was hesitation The varying dates at which final consonants became mute and their partial restoration (§§ 125–30), the lengthening of vowels consequent upon the loss of a consonant (§ 53), and the conflict of dialectal pronunciations contributed to the uncertainty The result was that while in the majority of cases *e* became definitely either *e* or *ę*, in many words usage fluctuated and gravitated round a point midway between *e* and *ę* We have thus a threefold distinction close *e*, open *ę*, intermediate *e* The latter is a very unstable type and is first recognized as a separate variety in the seventeenth century Its instability is increased by the fact that no diacritic sign is available to distinguish it from *ę* and *ę*, which in principle are denoted by *é* and *è* respectively Intermediate *e* may therefore appear in writing as *é* or *è* or *e* according to the shade of quality it assumes But it should be noted that the use of accents is often determined by the habits and predilections of printers rather than by pronunciation (cf Extr XVII and notes). The modern distribution of these three *e* sounds dates in the main from the latter part of the seventeenth century, when pronunciation was fixed in doubtful cases and certain arbitrary distinctions were made Under

[1] But possibly a mere substitution of suffix (cf §§ 520, 523)

the group-accent the quality is more clearly defined, ɛ alone being found in a closed syllable and e predominating in an open syllable But the tendency to confuse intermediate e and open ɛ persists to the present day The following cases call for special comment

58 The normal development whereby final e becomes close was interfered with by seventeenth-century grammarians who, basing themselves upon orthography, interpreted *ai* as ɛ in certain cases (*balai, paix, souhait,* etc) While e was accepted for *j'ai, je sais,* the 1st pers fut *-ai,* the 1st pers past definite *-ai,* open ɛ was imposed in the imperfect indic *-ais,* etc and the conditional *-ais,* etc The distinction thus set up between *chantai, chanterai* and *chantais, chanterais* is gradually breaking down as the result, on the one hand, of the inherited tendency to close final vowels, on the other, of the tendency to pronounce *ai* as ɛ and the popular exaggeration of the distinctive pronunciation ɛ Normally in present-day French, final e is close in *chantai, chanterai* and intermediate in *chantais, chanterais,* but often in popular speech the former is open and the latter close Similarly *-ét, -et* in words like *forêt, sujet,* which were pronounced ɛ at the end of the seventeenth century, are now normally intermediate, in popular speech often ɛ The same remark applies to *accès, après, procès, succès*

59 Countertonic *e,* when it did not become ə (§§ 44 *c,* 60), was always less clearly articulated than tonic e It was probably intermediate e with a tendency to become close when free, and open when blocked The close quality is clearly defined whenever the syllable bears a sense-stress Various disturbing factors must be reckoned with, such as the influence of orthography and analogy (*cesser, bêtise* show ɛ by analogy with *cesse, bête*), uncertainty in syllabification, and above all the influence of Learned words which, as the result of the Erasmian reforms, propagated the pronunciation ɛ in the initial syllable (*périr,* etc) Here too the spelling *ai* helps to maintain ɛ (*aigu, prairie*) In hiatus, e is close (*géographie*)

60 Countertonic *ə*, which had resulted from free *e* and to some extent from other vowels (§§ 34, 44 *c*), began to disappear in the fourteenth century if it had in the meantime been brought into contact with the following vowel (SECŪRUM > *se-ur* > *sûr*, VIDĒRE > *ve-oir* > *voir*, ROTUNDA > *re-onde* > *ronde*) Between consonants countertonic *ə* remained (*chemin*) but tended to become mute in the sixteenth century, in the first instance between labial and *l* (*p'lotte*, *b'lustre*) Here again the grammarians, supported by orthography, intervened to rescue the threatened syllable Their task was made easier by the substitution of *e* for *ə* in many words This substitution resulted from a variety of causes The most potent was perhaps the new pronunciation of Latin, which generalized the pronunciation of countertonic *e* as *e* in Learned words These in their turn influenced Popular words (*séjour*), particularly if the latter were readily associated with their Latin prototypes (*trésor*) A similar influence is exerted by foreign words (*régate*, *ténor*, *bédouin*, *revolver*) Confusion of prefix accounts for the substitution of *dé-*, *ré-*, *tré-* for *de-*, *re-*, *tre-* (*défendre*, *réduire*, *trépied*) The analogical influence of stem-accented forms accounts for *chérir*, *lévrier*, *péter*, and the like Other cases may be attributed to the hesitation resulting from a conflict of dialectal pronunciations, *e* for countertonic *ə* being a well-known dialectal trait in the seventeenth century

61 Counterfinal *ə* in hiatus with the tonic vowel disappeared sporadically in the thirteenth century, more frequently in the fourteenth and fifteenth In the sixteenth century it survives only in spelling (cf § 68) In hiatus with the preceding countertonic vowel it was more tenacious (*prierai*), but did not persist in the sixteenth century although still sometimes counted as a syllable in poetry (*vraiement*) Between consonants counterfinal *ə* had begun to disappear in Old French, particularly before or after *r* The efforts of grammarians and purists to preserve the syllable were unsuccessful From the seventeenth century, *e* in this position has

a purely graphic value, except in the following cases (*a*) When a supporting vowel is required to avoid a group of three consonants (*âprement, tremblement*, cf § 142) If two *ə*'s are separated by a consonant, one is kept (generally the first) in order to avoid such a group (*échevelé*=eʃəvle) (*b*) When it separates two identical consonants (*honnêteté*) Analogy has sometimes been responsible for the substitution of *ę* or *e* for *ə* (*achèvement*≠*achève, caresser*≠*caresse*, etc)

62 Final *ə*, when it followed immediately upon the tonic vowel, had begun to become mute in the fourteenth century, and in the fifteenth century it gradually disappeared, the preceding vowel being lengthened After consonants, final *ə* continued to be sounded in Middle French[1] but disappeared in popular speech in the sixteenth century, often carrying with it the last consonant of a difficult group (*notre, autre*, pronounced *not'*, *ot'*) But its preservation in the written language and the fact that it served as the sign of the feminine caused the grammarians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to stand out for its retention For a time their efforts were partly successful, *ə* persisting well into the seventeenth century after *j* (*paie*=pęjə), before a pause, and generally in sustained discourse An important consequence was the preservation of final voiced consonants (*vide, raide*, etc) and their persistence even after the elimination of *ə* From about 1660, *ə* ceased to have syllabic value except after a group consisting of consonant + *l* or *r*, where it continues to be sounded (but cf popular *fenet'*, *vot'*, *not'*, etc)

63 The *ə* of those monosyllabic words which by reason of their syntactic function receive no stress, shows considerable hesitation In the seventeenth century *les, ces, des, mes, tes, ses* were normally pronounced *le*, before a consonant, *lez*, before a vowel, and this continued to be the rule in ordinary conversation as late as the end of the eighteenth century At that time *le, lez*, which had hitherto been confined to sustained discourse, became general The

[1] In Anglo-Norman it began to disappear from about the middle of the twelfth century

alternative pronunciation *lę, lęz* dates from the eighteenth century Of the three pronunciations which *cet* (*cette*) had in the sixteenth century, *sət* has survived in popular speech, *sęt* (supported by orthography) has been adopted in 'correct' speech, and *set* has been abandoned

Another instance of the substitution of *e* for *ə* is furnished by the interrogative form of the 1st sing pres indic of verbs in *-er* (*chanté-je*, etc), where *ə* having become tonic was at the same time brought under the influence of the following *j*. Normally *ə* remains intact when it receives the group-stress (*faites-le*, *rendez-le*, etc)

64 The quality of *ə* was in Old French that of a weakened *e* Wherever it continues to be sounded, *ə* tends from the seventeenth century onwards to be pronounced with slight lip-rounding, and when accented (*faites-le*, *premier*) approximates to *o* Its instability is reflected not only in the tendency to disappear, which we have noted, but also in the great variations it presents according to position, stress, and the nature of neighbouring sounds Thus, after labial consonants it tends to become *o* or *u* (*breuvage* for earlier *beuvrage*, *buvons*) Loss or weakening of *ə* is characteristic of rapid speech, retention and strengthening (tendency towards *o*) are common in sustained discourse and when a special effort is made to speak distinctly

O Ǫ U

65 One of the most striking features of sixteenth-century pronunciation is the hesitation between *o* and *u* in a large number of words The battle between those who favoured *u* (ouistes) and those who favoured *o* (non-ouistes) went on throughout the century, and it was not until the early part of the seventeenth century that the pronunciation of all but a few words was settled This hesitation seems to have existed to some extent from the beginning (cf § 34), and it makes the history of *o* one of the most difficult and involved problems in the history of the French language. In many cases usage evidently fluctuated for long periods between a very close *o*

and a very open *u*. This uncertainty is reflected in orthography (§ 155) As a general rule we find persisting in Modern French the *u* which resulted from *o* in the cases specified in §§ 45 (*a*), 47 (*a*), from *ou* (< *o* + *l*, § 50), and somewhat later from *o* (< *au*) when final or followed by a vowel (CAULEM > *chou*, LAUDARE > *loer* > *louer*) But in other positions the tendency to close *o* to *u*, which continued throughout Middle French, encountered the resistance of those whose pronunciation was consciously or unconsciously modelled upon the written language, for the latter generally preserved or reintroduced *o*, whether from mere conservatism or under the influence of Latin Thus it came about that tonic and countertonic *o* (< blocked *ǫ*) remained *o* (PŎRTA > *porte*, DŎRMIRE > *dormir*), as did also tonic *o* (< *au*) when not final or followed by a vowel (CAUSA > *chose*, AURUM > *or*)

66 But exceptions to these general rules are numerous and reflect the uncertainty which prevailed throughout the sixteenth century The intervention of grammarians (who are generally to be found upon the side of the written language and who base many of their decisions upon orthography) and the prejudice of polite society at the beginning of the seventeenth century against *u* as a popular and dialectal feature, account for the triumph of *o* in many cases, but the reasons which prompted a decision often remain obscure In literary and technical words *o* was generally favoured For the details of this involved question and the debates which raged over individual words or series of words the reader may be referred to Brunot, II, pp 251–4, IV, pp 177–8, Rosset, pp 67–83, Herzog, pp 156–89 The following list aims at being merely illustrative *o* appears for countertonic *u* (< blocked *o*) in *ortie*, *formage* later *fromage*, for countertonic *u* (< free *o* and free *ǫ*) in Learned words (*moment*, *opinion*, *volume*) and in Popular words which have been remodelled under the influence of Latin (*soleil*, *oraison*, *colombe*, *colonne*, for regular O F *souleil*, *ouraison*, *coulombe*, *coulonne*) *o* appears for tonic *u* (< blocked *ǫ*) in *forme*, *morne*, *orme*, for regular O F. *fourme*, etc *Adore*, *dévot*, *sobre* are Learned *u* appears

for countertonic ǫ (< blocked ǫ) in *fourmi*, *pourceau*, *tourment* Hesitation between *o* and *u* persisted through the greater part of the seventeenth century in *arroser*, *colombe*, *couleuvre*, *aujourd'hui*, *outarde*, *coussin*, *fourbu*, *fourmi* and many other words

67. In many words, particularly verb forms, *u* appears for etymological *o* by analogy (*ouvre*, *prouve*, *coule* ≠ *ouvrir*, *prouver*, *couler*, etc , *époux*, *jaloux* ≠ *épouser*, *jalousie*, etc) As regards the quality of *o* in cases where it survived, the modern distinction between ǫ and ǫ̣ dates from the Middle French period, when the etymological distinction gave place to the distinction according to position (§ 53), *o* becoming close when free or followed by *z* (*tôt*, *gros*, *mot*, *chose*), and open when blocked or followed by *r* (*forme*, *ortie*, *or*) The distinction is clear-cut in the case of tonic *o*, particularly when it comes under the group-stress Countertonic *o* tends to become open in Modern French (*roseau*, *potage*), but analogical influences are responsible for many exceptions (*rosier* beside *rose*) and the presence of a circumflex accent generally induces a close pronunciation (*ôter*, *clôture*, *côté*, *mômerie*, etc , but *o* is open in *hôpital*, *rôtir*, *hôtel* = ǫ̣tęl or otęl)

I U O

68 These vowels persisted unchanged The hesitation between *o* and *u* in certain words, which made possible such rimes as *jeu* (< JŎCUM) *jeu* (< *JACUTUM), e g Villon, *Testament*, l 1377, in the fifteenth century and gave rise to many debates in the sixteenth, was cleared up in the seventeenth and leaves few traces in Modern French It was due partly to a conflict of dialectal pronunciations *o* did not exist in Picard, where its nearest equivalent was *u* This feature together with other Picardisms had invaded Parisian speech On the other hand the spelling *eu* had throughout the sixteenth century a twofold value It represented not only *o*, but also *u* in words which had originally offered *ə* in hiatus with *u*, *s(e)ur* (< SECŪRUM), *m(e)ur* (< MATŪRUM) Thus it came about that the grammarians, on the authority of spelling, some-

times condemned etymologically correct *u* as a vulgar or dialectal pronunciation, *heur* (*bonheur, malheur*) is an interesting example of such a mistaken decision the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century popular pronunciation *ur* represents the regular development of *e-ur* (< AUGURIUM), but Malherbe, supported by Ménage and others, declared *ur* provincial and imposed *or*, a false association with *heure* (< HORA) facilitated the triumph of *o* and is responsible for the unetymological *h* Orthography is also responsible for the substitution of *o* for *u* in *gageure* Apart from such exceptions the traditional pronunciation was restored in the seventeenth century, but in *eucharistie, eunuque, Eugène, Europe, Eustache,* o did not triumph definitely until the beginning of the nineteenth century

69 The distinction between open and close *o* is modern and is determined by position *o* is close in an open syllable or if followed by *ẑ, z, t, tr* (*peu, Maubeuge, menteuse, meute, feutre*), and open in a closed syllable (*peur, peuple*) When the vowel is not stressed the distinction is less clear-cut and *ǫ* tends to predominate (*feuillage*). In hiatus, *o* is close (*bleuâtre*)

AU

70 *au* (< *a* + *l*) seems to have persisted as a diphthong as late as the sixteenth century, but it had clearly begun to be reduced to *o* The testimony of grammarians is conflicting and probably reflects changing usage, *o* was generalized before the end of the sixteenth century (*haut, animaux*)

EAU

71 According to the testimony of Erasmus and Meigret, *eau* was still a triphthong at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but before the middle of the century it had become a diphthong *eo*, which was reduced to *o* before 1600 (*beau, eau*(*e*), *beauté*) In popular Parisian speech *eau* appeared as *iau* (> *jo*), which is probably of dialectal origin (but cf Dauzat, § 101) and persisted down to the nineteenth century

wę (oi)

72 The Old French diphthong *oi* had by the end of the thirteenth century reached the stage *wę*, and the tendency to eliminate the labial element had already begun to assert itself The earliest sporadic examples of *ę* for *wę* date from that century In the fifteenth century *ę* for *wę* was perhaps already a feature of Parisian pronunciation (Brunot, I, 406) It is moreover characteristic of Norman, where it developed directly from older *ei*, and the large number of Normans who migrated to the Capital undoubtedly helped to generalize it In the sixteenth century it was usual in the Capital and the Court The grammarians inveighed against this 'careless' pronunciation, which they wrongly attributed to Italian influence and which they sought at the same time to brand as a vulgarism Their campaign was continued by the grammarians of the seventeenth century, powerfully supported by the bar and the salon The result was a partial restoration of *wę* in the language of polite society and later of the common people But for a great part of the seventeenth century there was hesitation, a conflict between *wę*, which was consciously cultivated, and *ę*, which was the final term of a natural evolution Hence such doublets as *harnais—harnois*, *raide—roide*, *raideur—roideur*, *Français—François* In the more common words *ę* was too firmly established to be eradicated· *craie* (< CRĒTA), *dais* (< DĬSCUM), *faible* (< FLĒBILEM), *frais* (Germ frisk), *marais* (Germ marisk), *monnaie* (< MONĒTA), *paraître*, *connaître*, particularly in cases where spelling had been brought into line with the pronunciation *ę* *tonnerre* < O F *tonoire* (< TONĬTRUM), *verre* < O F *voire* (< VĪTRUM) *Anglais*, *Français*, *Écossais*, *Hollandais* (beside *Danois*, *Suédois*, etc) are explained by the fact that they were in frequent use at this time Similarly *ę* was kept (and approved by Vaugelas) in the endings of the imperfect indicative and the conditional *-ais*, *-ait*, etc (cf § 58) [1] The spelling *oi*, which had been

[1] The labial semi-consonant remained intact in *wē*, *wi*, *wī* (*loin*, *fruit*, *juin*), cf § 77

phonetic in the twelfth century, continued to be used in spite of the suggestion made by Nicolas Berain (1675) to substitute *ai*. This orthography was adopted by Voltaire, but not recognized by the Academy until 1835

73 By a strange irony the grammarians by their attempts to impose *wę* prepared the way for the triumph of a still more popular feature *wa* for *wę* The change *wę* > *wa* is akin to the change *er* > *ar* (§ 56) and is a specifically Parisian feature (cf *alle* for *elle*, etc) It became common in popular Parisian speech of the sixteenth century Noted by Palsgrave (1530), condemned as vulgar by Henri Estienne (1582), Theodore de Bèze (1584) and others, it was eschewed by the polite society of the seventeenth century but adopted by the bourgeoisie towards the end of the century It continued to gain ground in the eighteenth, and *wę* lost its last stronghold with the fall of the Monarchy and the dispersal of the Court Wherever it had been restored it became *wa*

74 We have it on the authority of grammarians (Erasmus, Henri Estienne) that *oi* when final or before a vowel persisted as a diphthong in the sixteenth century Palsgrave (1530) declares that the *oy* of *roy*, *moy*, *moyen*, etc had the same value as in English *boye*, *coye*, etc But before the end of the century final *oi* had become *wę* Before vowels there was still hesitation in the seventeenth century between *oj*, *węj*, *waj* (a hiatus-*j* having in the meantime developed) (*royal*, *moyen*)

JE JO JẼ

75 *je* had a twofold origin It resulted (*a*) from tonic free *a* preceded by a palatal or palatalized consonant, (*b*) from tonic free *ę* In the latter case it persisted In the former it was almost invariably reduced to *e* at a later date From the fourteenth century onwards, *j* was absorbed by a preceding *ś*, *ź*, *n'*, *l'*, although the spelling *ie* persisted down to the sixteenth century If preceded by other consonants, its reduction is due to analogy, which affected the numerous verbs in *-ier*, bringing them into line with verbs in *-er* (*laissier*, *laissiez*, *laissierent*, *laissié* are replaced by *laisser*, *laissez*, etc) This

reduction of *je* to *e* becomes general in the fifteenth century and is completed in the sixteenth, but *je* remains intact in the suffix *-ier* (< -ARIUM), and in *pitié, moitié* After explosive + *l* or *r*, *je* has become *ije* in Modern French (*encrier, tablier*)

The reduction does not affect *jo*, which persists intact (*cieux, curieux*), nor *jẽ* (cf § 77)

NASAL VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

76 The natural tendency of nasal vowels to open (§ 39) gradually brought about a change in quality during the Middle French period and resulted in the changes *ĩ* > *ẽ* > *ɛ̃*, *ũ* > *õ* > *ɔ̃*, *ɛ̃* > *ɛ̃*, *õ* > *ɔ̃*, which are practically completed in popular speech before the end of the sixteenth century But *ẽ*, *õ*, *ɔ̃* continued to be used to some extent in the seventeenth century The tendency to confuse *ã* and *õ*, of which there are traces in Old French, becomes more pronounced with the velarization of *a* (§ 55), it is common in popular speech of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and persists in certain parts of France to the present day

77 The O F nasal diphthongs *iẽ*, *uĩ* had been reduced to *jẽ*, *wĩ* respectively before the sixteenth century (§ 50) *jẽ* showed a tendency to become *jã*, as rimes of the fifteenth century show (*an paroissien*, Villon, *mendiants liens*, G Alexis). *jã* for *jẽ* was a feature of popular Parisian speech in the sixteenth century, but the grammarians had no difficulty in banning it from polite usage The popular word *fiente* (*fienter*) represents the sole survival of this feature In such words as *escient* and *orient*, *jã* is due to the fact that *ie* was originally disyllabic (O F *escient, orient*) Similarly in Learned words (*patience, science*) *ie* was disyllabic in the sixteenth century and *en* in Learned words was pronounced *ã*, whence the modern *pasjã s, sjã s* But Learned words which were in common use (*chrétien, quotidien*, etc) or which were borrowed after 1600, when the pronunciation of Latin *en* as *ẽ* had been adopted, show *jẽ* Another popular tendency of the seventeenth century, the reduction of *jẽ* to *ẽ*, persists in present-day

popular speech (*bē* for *bjē*, etc). The development *wī* > *wẽ* is parallel to *ī* > *ẽ* (§ 76)

ẽi and *ōi* had been reduced to *ę̃* and *wę̃* respectively before the sixteenth century but persisted sporadically as diphthongs The attempt of seventeenth-century grammarians to preserve a distinction between *ẽ* (< *ãi* and *ẽi*) and *ẽ* (< *ī*) must be regarded as artificial and dictated by the spelling Similarly *ōi*, where it had not already been reduced, gave place to *wę̃* before the end of the sixteenth century

DENASALIZATION

78 In Old French, vowels were nasalized by a following nasal consonant, whether it was final, was followed by a consonant or was followed by a vowel In the last case *m* and *n* were often written double after *a*, *o*, *e*, the first *m* or *n* denoting the nasalization of the preceding vowel, the second denoting the consonant which was pronounced (*bonne* = bõnə, *femme* = fãmə) No orthographical device denoted the nasalization of a vowel before *n'* (*montagne* or *montaigne* = mõtãn'ə), unless we interpret the alternative graphy *ngn* as such Before a following consonant or when final, the nasal consonant was pronounced in Old French and was assimilated in pronunciation, and sometimes in spelling, to the following consonant, *m* becoming *n* before a dental, *n* becoming *m* before a labial (COMPUTARE > *conter*, INVOLARE > *embler*) But before the end of the Middle French period it had by a process of progressive assimilation been absorbed by the preceding nasal vowel, *m* and *n* being thus reduced to a common and purely orthographic function (*conte*, *comte*, *compte* = kõ tə)

79 The tendency to denasalize nasal vowels and diphthongs before intervocal *m*, *n*, *n'* probably began to manifest itself in the Middle French period, but we have no evidence of its effects before the sixteenth century, when they are apparent in the speech of the Capital One of the first vowels affected was *ã*, followed quickly by *ẽi* and more slowly by

the rest While the process was not completed in all cases before the end of the seventeenth century, the preservation of the nasal vowel before intervocal *m*, *n* was regarded as a provincialism from about 1650 Nasalization seems to have persisted rather longer in the case of countertonic vowels Before a word beginning with a vowel, the final nasal consonant is pronounced (cf § 135) and the preceding vowel is normally denasalized (*bon ami*), but the nasal quality is sometimes preserved by analogy (*bien aimable*).

80 The denasalized vowels naturally show the changes in quality which nasalization had brought about, but orthography (which had not always kept pace with these), the intervention of grammarians, and analogical influences are responsible for many exceptions.

ā>*a* As *ā* in many words represents older *ē* (§ 39) and as *e* had been retained in spelling (§ 155), there is often discrepancy between spelling and pronunciation in Modern French, *e* being pronounced *a* in such words as *femme*, *rouennais*, *solennel*, and in adverbs in *-emment* (*prudemment*) *ā* continued to be sounded in Learned words to the end of the seventeenth century and even later in adverbs in *-emment* In *emmancher*, *emmener*, *enamourer*, *enivrer*, *enorgueillir* it has been maintained to the present day under the influence of numerous words beginning with *en* + consonant, where *ā* regularly persisted (*enfermer*) In *ennui* the triumph of *ā* (analogical) over *a* was not secured until the nineteenth century Under the influence of orthography *e* has displaced regular *a* in *ennemi*, *étrenne*, *e* for *a* is now also common in *solennel*, *indemnité* Hence such doublets as *panne* (with change of spelling) beside *penne*, both going back to O F pãnə (< PENNA) The quality of *a* is velar (=ɑ), except in *femme*, *couenne*, *panne*

81 *ẽ* In the case of *ẽ*<*ĩ* (*voisin*, *voisine*) polite usage of the seventeenth century favoured denasalization to *i* Its triumph over popular *e* is due to the support which it received in the spelling, and perhaps also to the fact that *i* was not so completely nasalized before intervocal *m*, *n*, *n'* as were the more open vowels, and had therefore not merged with *ẽ*

These considerations do not of course apply to $\bar{e}$ (< *e* before medial *n'*), which regularly became *ę*, whence *enseigne* (ãsęn'); *deigne* with change of spelling *daigne* (dęn'), beside *ligne*, *vigne*

82 *ũ* (orth *un*) normally gives denasalized *o* in popular speech of the seventeenth century, but polite usage adopted *u* for the same reasons as it adopted *i* for *e* (< $\bar{e}$ < $\bar{i}$) (§ 81), yet *o* persisted in popular speech as late as the eighteenth century and in certain parts of France to the present day Adjectives in *-un* and the indefinite article *un* when linked with a following word beginning with a vowel should accordingly have been pronounced *on* (§§ 79, 135), but *õn* was often restored by analogy, and in popular speech *ün* (under the influence of the feminine) For example, *un autre* is pronounced *onǫ tr* beside the more generally accepted *õno tr* and the popular *uno t(r)* In the sixteenth century no distinction was apparently made between *un autre* and *une autre*, both being pronounced *õnotrə*, which partly explains the common confusions of gender in texts of that period (cf § 194)

83 $\tilde{o} > o$, which alternates with *u* in the seventeenth century (§§ 65–7) Before *n'* also, $\bar{o}$ was regularly denasalized to *o* (*vergogne*, *cigogne*), but in a number of words *oi* (=wa) has displaced *o* This is due partly to analogy, partly to a false interpretation of the common spelling *ign* (=n'), *oign* being wrongly read as *oi* + *n'* instead of *o* + *n'* Thus it came about that *élogner*, *temogner* (the normal development of O F *esloignier*, *tesmoignier*) had to contend with *éloigner*, *témoigner*, which found support in *loin*, *témoin* Ménage's decision in favour of the latter (*Observations*, p 313) was accepted, *roignon*, which also found favour with him, was not adopted Other examples are *soigner*, *poignet* (influenced by *soin*, *poing*)

B. *CONSONANTS*

1 VULGAR LATIN DEVELOPMENTS

84 The Classical Latin alphabet possessed the following consonants B, C, D, F, G, H, I (J), K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S, T, U (V), X [1] These symbols do not accurately represent the sounds of the spoken language, still less the consonant system of Vulgar Latin of the Late Empire The following are the more important V L developments, others are for convenience dealt with in connection with O F developments

V (uncial U, cursive *uu*) is the symbol corresponding in Classical times to the semi-consonant *w* This early became a bilabial fricative (*b*) which in its turn became, perhaps as early as the fifth century, the labio-dental fricative (*v*) which survives in French It remained *w* in the groups GU, QU, with a tendency to disappear even in V L , except before *a* (COCUS for COQUUS) If preceded by a vowel and followed by *u* it disappeared (RIUS for RIUUS) A secondary *w* developed from unaccented *u* in hiatus (VIDUA > VEDWA, whence *veuve*) The initial *w* of words borrowed from Germanic towards the end of the V L period was rendered by *gw* (Germ w a r d a > *GWARDA, whence O F *guarde*)

b between vowels became the bilabial fricative *b* and its subsequent history is identical with that of *b* < *w* (DEBERE > *devoir*, FABA > *fève*) If by the loss of a vowel *b* was subsequently brought into contact with a following consonant, it became *u* (PARABOLA > PARAULA, whence *parole*)

m and *n* when final disappear completely in V L , except in accented monosyllabic words (REM > *ren*, NON > *non* accented, *ne*(*n*) unaccented) The antiquity of this change as regards *m* is vouched for by its elision in Latin poetry and is reflected in the forms of early inscriptions

[1] I was the regular symbol for both the vowel (*i*) and the semi-consonant (*j*) Y, Z, CH, PH, RH, TH occur only in Greek loan-words

n before *s* became mute at an early date and the preceding vowel was lengthened (MENSEM > MESE > *mois*, MENSURA > MESURA > *mesure*)

r was often assimilated to a following *s* (SURSUM > SUSU > *sus*, DORSUM > DOSSU > *dos*)

h was regularly mute in current speech from the third century onwards, but Learned influence maintained it for a time The aspirate *h* sound was re-introduced in Germanic loan-words O F *halberc* (Germ halsberg)

l had in V L a velar quality when followed by a consonant (§ 43).

tl, a group which resulted from the loss of an intervening vowel, became *kl* (VĔTULUM > VĘKLU > *vieil*)

Words beginning with *s* + consonant developed a prosthetic *e* (sometimes written i) in V L whenever the preceding word ended in a consonant (SPINA > ESPINA > O F *espine*, SPATHA > ESPATA > O F *espe(d)e*, SCOLA > ISCOLA > O F *escole*)

85 C, K, Q are symbols for the hard *k* sound In V L the point of articulation of *k* varied according to the point of articulation of the following vowel Before front vowels (*e*, *i*) the tongue was arched towards the middle of the hard palate, giving a medio-palatal explosive, for which we have adopted the symbol k^i Before *a* the tongue was arched towards the back of the hard palate, giving a post-palatal explosive (k^a) Before back vowels (*o*, *u*) the tongue was arched towards the velum, giving a velar explosive (*k*), cf §§ 93–4

Similarly Vulgar Latin possessed three *g* sounds g^i, g^a, *g* g^i had before the end of the V L period become semi-consonantal *j* and therefore coalesced with *j* (= C L J) and *j* which resulted from unaccented *i* or *e* in hiatus (§ 25 *b*), from the reduction of *gj* and *dj* (§§ 93–4), and from Greek ζ (*jaloux* derived from ZELUS, Gr ζῆλος).

2 THE OLD FRENCH CONSONANT SYSTEM

86 The development of Vulgar Latin consonants in French is conditioned by the place which they occupy in the word, by the nature of the preceding or following consonant, and to a lesser degree by the nature of the preceding or following vowel (LEVARE > *lever*, but PAVONEM > *paon*, PAGANUM > *paien*, but RUGA > *rue*) The readiness with which they are assimilated to a following consonant and various other phenomena suggest that V L consonants were articulated with the crescendo effect which still characterizes French as opposed to English vowels and consonants. That is to say, the articulation of the consonant begins weak and reaches its maximum energy or tension near the end For this reason assimilation is nearly always regressive, the articulation of the first consonant of a group has not reached its maximum before the articulation of the second begins The former tends therefore to be pronounced weakly and at the same time to shift its point of articulation towards that of the latter, often to the point of disappearing The same crescendo trend is responsible for the development of so-called glide-consonants (§ 100)

87 Assimilation of a different kind affects a single consonant between vowels Here the consonant, caught between two sonorous elements, becomes voiced if it was originally voiceless, the vibration of the vocal cords being allowed to continue instead of being momentarily interrupted At the same time the consonant tends to be articulated more laxly, the tongue tending to remain in the free position which it must assume for the articulation of the preceding and following vowels (VITA > *vida* > *vide* > *vie*)

88 Assimilation may also take the form of palatalization under the influence of a neighbouring palatal sound the normal articulation of a consonant is modified by arching the tongue forward and upward in the direction of the hard palate (e g *n'* in Modern French) In principle all non-palatal consonants are susceptible to this influence and in

Vulgar Latin appear to have been so palatalized, but some of them preserve no trace of palatalization in Old French

89 *l'*, *n'*, which result from palatal + *l*, *n*, or from *l*, *n* + *j*, developed in Gallo-Roman (FILJA > *fil'a* > *fille*, and similarly VIG(I)LAT > *veille*, INSIGNAT > *enseigne*, VINEA > *vigne*, VERECUNDIA > VER(E)GONJA > *vergogne*) But upon being brought into contact with a following consonant, *l'* had become *l* before the O F period and therefore gave regularly *u*, the palatal element disappearing without trace, except that a following *s* was changed to *ts* (orth *z*) TRIPALIUM > *traval'* (orth *travail*), but *TRIPALIOS > *traval's* > *travalts* > *travauts* (orth *travauz*, *travaux*) *n'* was also depalatalized when brought into contact with a following consonant, the palatal element persisting in the form of *i* (which combined with the preceding vowel) and a following *s* becoming *ts* (orth *z*) In the twelfth century final *n'* was similarly depalatalized (PUGNUM > *poing*, PUGNOS > *poinz*) At the end of the twelfth century we therefore find *n'* persisting if it remained intervocal, *l'* persisting if it remained intervocal or final For the subsequent history of these consonants cf §§ 113, 129

90 In some cases depalatalization had supervened before the O F period (even when the consonant remained intervocal) and the palatal element appears in the form of *i*, which combines with the preceding vowel *rj* > *r'* > *ir*, *sj* > *s'* > *iz* (*is* when final) (PARIA > *paire*, MANSIONEM > *maison*, *PERTUSIUM > *pertuis*)

91. In the groups *bj*, *mj*, *pj*, *vj*, the semi-consonant was articulated with the following syllable and therefore shows the same development as initial *j* (> *dž*), the consonant closes the preceding syllable, is not palatalized, but is subsequently assimilated to *dž* (< *j*) *RABJA (C L RABIEM) > *ra(b)dža* (O F *rage*), LEVJARJU (*LEVIARIUM) > *le(v)džier* (*legier*), SIMJU (SIMIUM) > *sindža* (*singe*), *REPROPJARE > *repro(p)tšier* (*reprochier*) The same syllabification appears sporadically with other consonants LIN-JU (LINEUM) > *linge*, LAN-JU (LANEUM) > *lange*, ESTRAN-JU (EXTRANEUM) > *estrange* Similarly *rg'* > *r-j* > *rdž* (ARGENTUM > *argent*)

92 The palatal sound may persist while at the same time palatalizing the neighbouring consonant Thus *k*, *g* before a consonant (except *l*, *n*, § 89) became the spirant *χ* (= Germ *ch* in *dicht*) which palatalized the following consonant and later combined with the preceding vowel as *i* The consonant was subsequently depalatalized, the palatal element combining in the form of *i* with a following *e* (< tonic free A). FACTA > *faχt'a* > *faite*, *FRĬG(I)DUM > *freit*, LAXAT > *laisse*, NĪGRUM > *neir*, LAXARE > *laissier*

93 Lastly, palatalization may cause at the same time a shifting of the point of articulation and the disengaging of the palatal element in the form of a sibilant (*s*, *š*, *ž*) [1] *tj* > *t'* > *t's'* (*CAPTIARE > *chacier* with assimilation of *p*); k^i and *kj* > *k'* > *t'* > *t's'* (CENTUM > *cent*, *ARCIONEM > *arçon*), k^a > *k'* > *t'* > *t'š'* (CARUM > *chier*), g^a > *g'* > *d'* > *d'ž'* (GAUDIA > *joie*), initial *j* > *dj* > *d'* > *d'ž'* (JAM > *ja*, GENTEM > *gent*, DIURNUM > *journ*) When intervocal, *t's'* (< *tj* or k^i) > *d'z'* > *tdz* > *tz* (VICINUM > *veisin*, RATIONEM > *raison*); in combination with a preceding *s* it gives *ts* (ANGUSTIA > *angoisse*, CRESCENTEM > *creissant*) as does also *t's'* (< *kj*) (*PISCIONEM > *peisson*)

The palatalization of k^i caused the point of articulation to shift forward until it reached that of *t'*, whose subsequent development it shares This fusion explains orthographical hesitations of the type AMICITIAM—AMICICIAM, INITIUM—INICIUM which are so frequent in Late Latin documents

94 The palatalization of k^a and g^a, which is characteristic of certain Langue d'oil dialects, including Central French, as opposed to other Northern dialects (Norman and Picard), to Provençal and the remaining Romance languages, took place about 800 and suggests that by that date *a* had passed from the velar (Latin) to the palatal or forward position (cf § 55) As the point of articulation of a is not so far forward as that of *e* and *i*, the palatalization of k^a and g^a was less pronounced

[1] The resulting groups *t's'*, *t'š'*, *d'ž'* probably preserved their palatal quality throughout the O F period, but in the following pages we shall for convenience note them *ts*, *tš*, *dž* respectively, for their later reduction to *s*, *š*, *ž*, respectively, see § 108*a*

than that of k^i, whence the difference in the development of t' ($< k^i$) and t' ($< k^a$), the latter being parallel to that of d' ($< g^a$) Intervocal k^a and g^a are not affected by this later palatalization, as k^a had in the meantime become g^a and with original g^a had become a spirant, cf § 102, col (*b*).

The development of the dental element before j is to be explained as a strengthening of the articulation of the initial consonant

95 Assimilation of a consonant to a following vowel (apart from the palatalizing influence of *e*, *i*, *a*, and the voicing of intervocal consonants) is rare and presupposes a close affinity between vowel and consonant Thus intervocal *b* (< V, B) is absorbed by a following rounded vowel (§ 84) Cf also the later absorption of a nasal consonant by a preceding nasal vowel (§ 78)

For the vocalization of *l*, see § 43

96 The chief consonantal changes down to the end of the twelfth century are classified in the tables on pages 76–83, according to the position they occupy within the word initial, medial, and final, singly or in groups of two or more

The position of consonants is often altered by the loss of neighbouring vowels or consonants Thus *s* of MENSEM is the last of a group in C L , but intervocal in V L MESE, and final in French *mets*, *mois*, the *g* of FRIGIDUM ceased to be intervocal and became the first of the group *gd* through the loss of unaccented *i* Groups which existed as such in Latin are called primary, those which developed in Gallo-Roman or French are called secondary An apostrophe (indicating the loss of a vowel or consonant) is employed to distinguish the latter In the case of a secondary group, account must be taken of the changes which a consonant may have undergone before being brought into contact with another Thus the *t* of *SUBITANUM had become *d* before *i* disappeared, whence SOB'DANU (> *soudain*), whereas in DEBITA > DEB'TA > *dette*, *t* was brought into contact with *b* before it could become *d* We have thus evidence for establishing the relative chronology of the two phenomena, loss of unaccented vowels and

voicing of intervocal consonants, but it is evidence which must be carefully sifted Thus in the change AMATIS > *amez*, *i* did not drop out before *t* became *d*, as might appear at first sight; if it had, *d* would not have developed as a free vowel Here the secondary group *d's* developed first and then became *ts* by assimilation of the voiced *d* to voiceless *s* Occasionally two developments are preserved, e g O F *coute* < COB'TU < CUBITUM, beside *coude* < COB'DU < CUBITUM Similar chronological considerations apply in the case of final consonants (§ 101).

97 Initial consonants (§ 102, col *a*), whether single or followed by another consonant, generally remain unchanged, except V L k^i, k^a, g^a, *j* This also applies to the initial consonant of a syllable if the preceding syllable ends in a consonant (§ 102, col *g*), except that *sk* became by metathesis *ks*, whence *is* (NASCO > *nais*, CRESCO > *creis*) For the group cons + *j*, cf §§ 88–94 and § 102, col (*f*) The prosthetic *e* which had developed in V L before initial *s* + cons , whenever the preceding word ended in a consonant (§ 84), had become permanently attached to such a group before the twelfth century, note that in the *Eulalia* (11, 22) we still find *une spede* (O F *une espee*, Mod F *une épée*)

98 Less resistance is offered by consonants in other positions Intervocal consonants tend to weaken and disappear (§ 87) Single consonants between vowel and *r* develop as though intervocal (§ 102, col *b*)

99 The first consonant of a group (§ 102, cols *c*, *d*, *f*) tends to be assimilated partially or completely (§§ 88, 90–2), but *r*, *f* persist unchanged, as do *b* before *l*, and *t* before *s* For the development of *m*, *n* before consonant, cf § 78 Primary *ns*, *rs*, *ds* had been reduced in V L to *s* (§ 84), which therefore becomes voiced Double consonants became single in O F , with the exception of double *r*, which persisted as such if it remained intervocal (TERRA > *terre*, but FERRUM > *fer*, CURRIT > *court*)

100 Groups of three consonants (§ 102, col *e*) are reduced, generally by the elimination of the middle consonant,

except in the combinations consonant + labial or dental + *l* or *r*, consonant + dental + *s*, and *ng'l*, *nk'l*, *nk'r*, *rk'l* (UNGŬLA > *ongle*, AVUNCŬLUM > *oncle*, ANCŎRA > *ancre*, CIRCŬLUM > *cercle*) The resulting group of two consonants may be further reduced by assimilation of the first element, but in certain cases the elimination of the middle consonant results in the formation of a glide-consonant The latter develops before the first consonant has been brought into such close contact with the last consonant as to be assimilated The loss of the middle consonant causes the first to be correspondingly lengthened, and the characteristic rising tension (cf. § 88) is therefore exaggerated to the point of producing an explosive This so-called glide develops simultaneously with the disappearance of the middle consonant and shows the influence of the latter in that it is voiced or voiceless according as the latter was voiced or voiceless PULV(E)REM > POL'RE > *poldre*, similarly *FULGEREM > *foldre*, VINCERE > *veintre*, PLANGERE > *plaindre*, INVOLARE > *embler*, CARCEREM > *chartre*, SURGERE > *sourdre*, MARMOR > *marbre*, NASCERE > *naistre*

A glide develops in the same way in the secondary groups *m'r*, *m'l*, *n'r*, *l'r*, *z'r*, *s'r*, which result from the loss of a vowel CAMERA > *chambre*, *TREMULARE > *trembler*, TENERUM > *tendre*, MOLERE > *moldre*, CONSUERE > COSERE > *cousdre*, *ESSERE > *estre*

101 Final consonants develop differently according as they are unsupported (preceded by a vowel) or supported (preceded by a consonant) A distinction must also be drawn between consonants which were final in Latin (primary) and those which by the loss of final vowels became so at a later stage (Romance or secondary)

Supported final consonants (§ 102, col *i*) remain, secondary voiced finals becoming unvoiced (TARDUM > *tart*, LONGUM > *lonc*) The supporting consonant may disappear, but the final consonant persists in O F (VALET > *valt* > *vaut*)

Unsupported final consonants (§ 102, col. *h*) show considerable fluctuations Before a pause they tend to weaken and disappear *d* (< intervocal *d*) > *t*, which disappears in the eleventh century But various influences have counter-

acted this tendency For example, *s* fulfilled a morphological function (cf § 182) and this fact undoubtedly prolonged its existence The same remark applies to *t* in verb endings (CANTAT > *chantet* > *chantet*) The striking contrast which French presents with other Romance languages (including Provençal) in maintaining final consonants may be partly due to the very important rôle of the schoolmaster in Northern Gaul If the consonant persists, it is in its unvoiced form (NOVEM > *neuf*) Within a speech-group (i e if the word is closely associated with a following word) the normal development of the final consonant would be that of an intervocal consonant if the following word begins with a vowel, that of the first consonant of a group if the following word begins with a consonant (cf Mod F *neuf heures*, *neuf kilos*, but *il y en a neuf*) But against this has to be set the consciousness of the word as a separate entity This recognition of the word as a unit was not equally potent at all periods of the language but appears to have been particularly strong in the O F. period There is therefore from the beginning a tendency to generalize the unvoiced final (*vif*, *mors*) The resulting conflict accounts for the many anomalies in the treatment of final consonants, not only in Old French, but in Modern French, where the powerful influence of the written language favours the preservation of the word as a separate phonetic entity (cf §§ 125–31)

[For § 102, see pp 76–83]

103 *w*, which had resulted from an unaccented *u* in hiatus with a following vowel, had early disappeared when preceded by two consonants and in the group *kw* before *u* (§ 84) Elsewhere it had persisted and its development in Old French may be summarized as follows:

Initial *gw* (< Germanic *w*) and *kw*, whether initial of the word or of the syllable, were reduced during the O F. period to *g* and *k* respectively, although spelling may remain unchanged Germ warda > *guarde* > *garde*, Germ werra > *guerre*, QUARE > *car*, QUINDECIM > *quinze*, LINGUA > *langue*

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
		Medial			
	Initial	Between vowels or vowel and r	Before *l*	Before other consonants	Middle of group[1]
p	p	> b > b > v	b	(−)	(−) But cons + p + l, r remains
	PONTEM > *pont* PROBARE > *prouver*	CREPARE > *crever* CAPRA > *chievre*	DUPLUM > *double*	RUPTA > *route*	COMP(U)TARE > *conter* RUMP(E)RE > *rompre*
b	b	> b > v (−) before o, u	b	(−)	(−) But cons + b + l, r remains
	BONUM > *bon* BREVEM > *bref*	DEBERE > *devoir* LABRA > *levre* TABONEM > *taon*	MOB(I)LEM > *mueble*	SUBTILEM > *soutil*	GALB(I)NUM > *jalne, jaune* MEMBRUM > *membre*
w	> ẉ > v	> ẉ > v (−) before o, u	—	(−)	(−)
	VIVERE > *vivre*	LEVARE > *lever* PAVONEM > *paon*		*JOV(E)NEM > *juene*	SOLV(E)RE > *soldre* Cf § 100
f	f	—	f	—	(−) But cons + f + l, r remains
	FIDEM > *foi* FRENUM > *frein*		*GAROF(U)LUM > *girofle*		FORF(I)CES > *forces* INFLARE > *enfler*
t	t	> d > d > (−)	t'l > kl > l'	(−) But t's > ts	(−) But cons + t + r, s remains
	TALEM > *tel* TRABEM > *tref*	VITA > *vie*	VET(U)LUM > *vieil*	PLAT(A)NUM > *plane* AMAT(I)S > *amez*	AEST(I)MARE > *esmer* FENESTRA > *fenestre* FORT(I)S > *forz*

NOTE (−) denotes the loss of the sound in question
— indicates that the case does not arise

[1] For the development of glide-consonants, see § 100

CONSONANTS TO 1200

(*f*)	(*g*)		(*h*)	(*i*)
			Final	
+*j*	Last of group		Unsupported	Supported
tš	p	Lat	—	—
APPROPIARE > *approchier*	SERPENTEM > *serpent*	Rom	f *CAPUM > *chief*	p CAMPUM > *champ*
dž	b	Lat	—	—
TIBIA > *tige*	CARBONEM > *charbon*	Rom	f TRABEM > *tref*	p *CORBUM > *corp*
dž	v	Lat	—	—
ABBREVIARE > *abregier*	SERVIRE > *servir*	Rom	f VIVUM > *vif*	f CERVUM > *cerf*
—	f	Lat	—	—
	INFANTEM > *enfant*	Rom	—	—
After vowel > iz After cons > ts but stj > is	t	Lat	> t > (—) AMAT > *aime(t)*	t AMANT > *aiment*
POTIONEM > *poison* INFANTIA > *enfance* ANGUSTIA > *angoisse*	FONTANA > *fontaine*	Rom	> t > (—) GRATUM > *gre(t)*	t PARTEM > *part*

The development of final consonants here tabulated is that normally found before a pause (cf § 101)

For initial *h*, see §§ 84, 109, 115

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
		Medial			
	Initial	Between vowels	Before *l*	Before other consonants	Middle of group
d	d DURUM > *dur* DRAPPUM > *drap*	> ḍ > (−) VIDERE > *v(e)oir*	d'l > ll > l MOD(U)LUM > *moule*	(−) But d's > ts *ADMIRARE > *amirer* AUD(I)S > *oz*	(−) But cons + d + r remains d's > ts ORD(I)NEM > *orne* PERD(E)RE > *perdre* SURD(O)S > *sour*
s	s SERVIRE > *servir* SPINA > *espine* Cf § 97	z PAUSARE > *poser*	(−) I(N)S(U)LA > *i(s)le*	(−) But sp, st remain, st's > ts, sk > ıs AS(I)NUM > *a(s)ne* ASPERUM > *aspre* HOSTEM > *ost* HOST(E)S > *oz* CRESCUNT > *croissent*	s *DEXTRARIUM > *destrer*
r	r REM > *ren*	r FARINA > *farine*	r MER(U)LA > *merle*	r CARBONEM > *charbon*	—
l	l LUNA > *lune*	l TELA > *toile*	(−) NULLA > *nule*	> ɬ > u PALMA > *paume* CAL(I)DUM > *chaut*	—
m	m MURUM > *mur*	m AMARUM > *amer*	m'l > mbl *TREM(U)LARE > *trembler*	m But > n before dental GAMBA > *jambe* SEM(I)TA > *sente* TEM(PU)S > *tens*	(−) But mn'n > rn DORM(I)TORIUM > *dortoir* GERM(I)NARE > *germer*

CONSONANTS TO 1200—*continued*

(*f*)	(*g*)		(*h*)	(*i*)
			Final	
+*j*	Last of group		Unsupported	Supported
>j in V.L	d	Lat	>ţ>(−) AD > a (*f*)	—
	TARDARE > *tarder*	Rom	>t>(−) FIDEM > *foi* (*f*)	t TARDUM > *tart*
1z But ssj > 1s	s But after l′, n′, nn, > ts	Lat	s BONAS > *bones*	—
MA(N)SIONEM > *maison* MESSIONEM > *moisson*	VERSARE > *verser* PUGN(O)S > *poinz* *GENUC(U)I (O)S > *genolz* ANN(O)S > *anz*	Rom	s NASUM > *nes*	s URSUM > *ours*
1r	r	Lat	r COR > *cuer*	—
VARIUM > *vair*	LABRA > *levre*	Rom	r CARUM > *chier*	r FERRUM > *fer*
l′ FILIA > *fille*	l Palatal +l > l′ MOB(I)LEM > *meuble* AURIC(U)LA > *oreille*	Lat	l FEI > *fiel*	—
		Rom	l TALEM > *tel*	l BELLUM > *bel*
ndž SIMIUM > *singe*	m ARMA > *arme*	Lat	(−) BONAM > *bone*	—
		Rom	n RACEMUM > *raisin*	m VERMEM > *verm*

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
	Initial	Medial			
		Between vowels	Before *l*	Before other consonants	Middle of group
n	n NASUM > *nes*	n PLANARE > *planer*	— 	n But > m before labial, n'm > m PLANTA > *plante* INFA(N)S > *emfes* AN(I)MA > *ame*	(–) DIURN(O)S > *jours*
k	k COLLUM > *col* CREPARE > *crever*	(–) SECURUM > *s(e)ur*	k+l > l' AURIC(U)LA > *oreille*	I But ks + cons > s + cons ktj > ts FACTUM > *fait* *DEXTRARIUM > *destrier* *DIRECTIARE > *drecier*	(–) But remains in nk'l, nk'r, rk'l sk + cons > IS + cons nkt > int MISC(U)LARE > *mesler* AVUNC(U)LUM > *oncle* ANC(O)RA > *ancre* CIRC(U)LUM > *cercle* CRESC(I)T > *croist* PUNCTUM > *point*
g	g GUTTA > *goute* GRANDEM > *grant*	(–) AUGUSTUM > *a-oust*	g+l > l' REG(U)LA > *reille*	I But gn > n' FRAGRARE > *flairer* DIGNAT > *deigne*	(–) But remains in ng'l *MARG(U)LA > *marle* UNG(U)LA > *ongle*

CONSONANTS TO 1200—*continued*

(*f*)	(*g*)		(*h*)	(*i*)
			Final	
+*j*	Last of group		Unsupported	Supported
n′	n But pal + n > n′ mn > m rm′n > rm	Lat	n NON > *non* Cf § 84	—
LINEA > *ligne*	ALNUM > *aine* DIGNAT > *deigne* *DAMNATICUM > *damage* GERM(I)NARE > *germer*	Rom	n BONUM > *bon*	n > (—) CORNU > *cor(n)*
—	k But sk > IS	Lat	k or I or (—) AB HOC > *avuec* FAC > *fai* ILLAC > *la*	—
	FALCONEM > *falcon* CRESCUNT > *croissent*	Rom	I *VERACUM > *vrai*	k PORCUM > *porc*
—	g	Lat	—	—
	BURGUNDIA > *Bourgogne*	Rom	—	k LONGUM > *lonc*

102 DEVELOPMENT OF

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
		Medial			
	Initial	Between vowels	Before *l*	Before other consonants	Middle of group
k^l	ts CENTUM > *cent*	IZ PLACENT > *plaisent*	—	—	—
k^a	tš CANTAT > *chante*	> g^a > IJ after *a*, *e*, (–) after *i*, *o*, *u* PACARE > *paier* AMICA > *amie* JOCARE > *jouer*	—	—	—
g^a	dž GAMBA > *jambe*	> IJ after *a*, *e* (–) after *i*, *o*, *u* PAGANUM > *paien* RUGA > *rue*	—	—	—
J g^l dJ } J	dž *JOVENEM > *juene* GENTEM > *gent* DIURNUM > *journ*	Post-tonic > IJ, Pre-tonic > IJ before *a*, *e*, *o*, (–) before *i*, *u* CORRIGIA > *courroie* *APPODIARE > *apoier* JEJUNUM > *je-un*	—	—	—

CONSONANTS TO 1200—*continued*

(*f*)	(*g*)		(*h*)	(*i*)
			Final	
+*j*	Last of group		Unsupported	Supported
ts But sk*j* > ɪs *GLACIA > *glace* *PISCIONEM > *poisson*	ts But sk^{l} > ɪs ANCILLA > *ancelle* VASCELLUM > *vaissel*	Lat	—	—
		Rom	ɪts CRUCEM > *croiz*	ts SAL(I)CEM > *salz*
—	tš	Lat	—	—
	*BLANCA > *blanche*	Rom	—	—
—	dž	Lat	—	—
	VIRGA > *verge*	Rom	—	—
—	See preceding column	Lat	—	—
		Rom	1 RADIUM > *rai*	—

In medial groups consisting of explosive + *w*, the explosive was assimilated to *w*, which became *u* if subsequently brought into contact with a following consonant (DEBU(I)T > *dut*, HABU(I)T > *out*), and became *v* or *u* if it remained intervocal (VIDUA > *veuve*, AQUA > *ewe* > *eaue* and *eve*). *nw* > *nv* (JANUARIUM > *janvier*) Cf §§ 345, 348, 350

104 The conditions under which consonants developed were so unstable, and disturbing influences so common and sporadic in their effect, that many apparent exceptions to the general rules set out above are to be noted Some of these are accounted for by varying phonetic conditions, such as a change (or merely hesitation) in syllabification (cf § 91) or, in the case of secondary groups, the date at which the constituent consonants were brought into contact (cf § 96)

105 Sporadic tendencies, such as metathesis, harmonic assimilation and dissimilation, account for other irregularities (§ 20)

106 Many apparent exceptions to sound-laws are to be found in words which were borrowed subsequently to the change or changes in question For the phonetic treatment of borrowed words, see §§ 499–501, 520 The following list may serve to illustrate such apparent exceptions P *epistre* (EPISTOLA), *propre* (PROPRIUS), *couple* (COPULA), *assomption* (ASSUMPTIO), B *habile* (HABILIS), *libre* (LIBER), T *nature* (NATURA), *titre* and *titele* (TITULUS), D *prudent* (PRUDENS), K *duc* (DUX), *difficile* (DIFFICILIS), *discipline* (DISCIPLINA), *cause* (CAUSA), *fecondité* (FECUNDITAS), G *negoce* (NEGOTIUM), *regle* (REGULA), *fragile* (FRAGILIS)

107 Learned influence is responsible, not only for the introduction of words borrowed from C L and L L, but for the retarding or reversing of popular developments (cf § 500) Analogical influences account for many other apparent exceptions Cf the development of final consonants (§§ 101, 125–31).

108 The most striking developments dating from the thirteenth century are:

(*a*) The elimination of the dental element of the groups

ts, *dz*, *tš*, *dž*, which were reduced to *s*, *z*, *š*, *ž* respectively from about the middle of the thirteenth century and subsequently depalatalized (cf § 93 note) Orthography does not record this change, except sporadically in the case of final *ts* (orth *z*) > *s* (orth *s*)· *morz* (*morts*), *granz* (*grands*), *chacier* (*chasser*), *place*, *anz* (*ans*), *poinz* (*poings*), *compainz*, *genolz* (*genoux*), *cire*, *noiz* (*noix*), *onze*, *chanter*, *vache*, *manche*, *porche*, *sache*, *argent*, *gent*, *salvage* (*sauvage*), *joie*, *herberge*, *jugier* (*juger*), *tige*

(*b*) The progressive reduction or elimination of final consonants, which however persist in spelling Unsupported final *t* (§ 102 *h*) had ceased to be pronounced in the twelfth century About the middle of the thirteenth century supported final *t*, which had hitherto been pronounced even after the loss of the supporting consonant (*plai*(*s*)*t*, *di*(*s*)*t*), began to disappear Other unsupported final consonants (including *s* *bones*, *chantes*), when preceded by *ə*, likewise began to become mute in the thirteenth century Final *n'* > *n* and was absorbed by the preceding nasal vowel (*poing*, *tesmoing*) (cf § 78)

(*c*) *s*, which had become mute before voiced explosives prior to the thirteenth century, now also ceased to be pronounced before voiceless explosives, although preserved in spelling (§ 169)

109 These changes are gradually generalized in the fourteenth century In the fifteenth century, final *r*, which had hitherto resisted, began to disappear (§ 128), similarly *r* tended to disappear in the group *r* + cons + *ə* (*rouges*. *courges*, *mesle*: *perle*, rime in Villon) Aspirate *h* also became mute for the most part before the sixteenth century (§ 115) The passage of intervocal *r* to *z* is attested, but does not become general until the sixteenth century (§ 116) These changes, together with others which began in the Middle French period, will be dealt with in the following section

3 MIDDLE AND MODERN FRENCH DEVELOPMENTS

110 The various factors which from the sixteenth century onwards have interfered with the normal phonetic development of vowels (§ 54) play an equally important and perhaps more striking part in the history of consonants Here the Erasmian reforms in the pronunciation of Latin are of capital importance The pronunciation that had made possible such puns as *requiescant in pace = Hé, qui est-ce?—Quentin—Passez!* gives place to a pronunciation in which each consonant is sounded Whereas in the Middle Ages Latin was pronounced as though it were French, the scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, having developed the habit of pronouncing Latin as written and sounding each consonant, may be said to have reversed the position they endeavoured to 'correct' the pronunciation of the vernacular on similar lines In the case of recent borrowings from Latin, which were essentially book-words, they had little difficulty in maintaining intact many consonants and groups of consonants which would in the normal course have been modified and brought into line with Popular words Similarly, earlier borrowed words of limited currency were partially restored to their Latin pronunciation In Learned words which had become more fully naturalized, and in many Popular words, the conservative and etymologizing tendency of orthography (§ 163) facilitated their efforts But here they generally had to contend with habits of pronunciation which were too deeply ingrained to be modified The tendency of grammarians to model pronunciation upon spelling proceeded, not from a mere worship of the written or printed word, but from a feeling that they were thereby restoring to the language some of the dignity which it, in common with Latin, had lost in the Dark Ages Their contempt for the corruptions and abuses of popular speech are not to be interpreted as snobbery but as the grammarian's contribution to the 'Defence and Illustration' of the French language

111. Thus we find from the sixteenth century onwards a

conflict between the popular and spontaneous evolution of French consonants, which made for simplification and reduction, and the learned, conscious attempt to arrest this evolution and to re-introduce consonants which had ceased to be pronounced. The polite society of the seventeenth century endeavoured to strike a balance between these tendencies Modern refined speech shows remarkably few departures from seventeenth-century usage, and they are often to be attributed to the growing influence of the printed word in more recent times

(*a*) Changes in the articulation of particular consonants

R

112 Latin *r* was evidently linguo-dental (i e produced by the vibration of the tip of the tongue against the upper gums) and persisted as such in the Romance languages The modern French uvular R (produced by the vibration of the uvula) is a comparatively modern Parisian development, which has spread to the greater part of Northern France In the South the medieval linguo-dental *r* predominates to this day, but even here uvular R is gradually spreading from the larger towns (Marseilles, etc) to the countryside While uvular R may have developed in isolated cases during the Middle Ages, such changes as $r > z$ (voiced dental) in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show that it could not have been general before the eighteenth century, and the phonetic description given by Molière in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* may be taken to represent standard usage of the time Uvular R had become general in Parisian speech by the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the speech of the Parisian workman the point of articulation has shifted still further back, R becoming almost a guttural spirant with a slight vibration

L′ > J

113 The reduction of *l′* to *j* is also a popular Parisian feature, which is noted as such by the grammarians of the

sixteenth century and condemned as vulgar by those of the seventeenth and eighteenth But it became so general in the eighteenth century, even beyond the Capital, that *j* was accepted as the correct pronunciation from the beginning of the nineteenth *l'* lingers on only in the South, in Switzerland, and in certain northern patois The reduction is extended in popular speech to the group *lj* (*escalier* pronounced *ɛskajɛ*) (cf § 124)

114 The palatalization of consonants, which had been so marked a feature in Vulgar Latin and Gallo-Roman, reappears in popular speech in the seventeenth century and accounts for the confusion of *t'* (< *tj*) and *k'* (< *kj*), *d'* (< *dj*) and *g'* (< *gj*) (*moiquié* for *moitié*, *Guieu* for *Dieu*, cited by Rosset, p 314) But the efforts of grammarians, supported by orthography, prevented this confusion from having permanent results, and it disappears in the course of the eighteenth century The palatalization of *k* and *g* before *e*, *i*, *ü*, is attested from the end of the seventeenth century and persists to the present day in popular speech, as does also the palatalization of *l* and *n* by a following *j* (§ 124)

H

115 Aspirate *h* had ceased to be sounded before the sixteenth century, but words in which it occurred continued to be treated for purposes of elision and liaison as though they began with a consonant Even this habit had practically disappeared in popular speech, but such as it was, it made possible the arbitrary distinction between mute *h* and aspirate *h* which the grammarians imposed Furthermore, orthography continued to note aspirate *h*, and according to Scaliger, in the course of the sixteenth century the French took to pronouncing *h* in Latin While the grammarians were unable to restore the aspirate *h* sound (except in the narrow circle of the learned), they imposed the arbitrary rule that words which had formerly begun with aspirate *h* should be treated as though they began with a consonant This rule became in the seventeenth century one of the many to be observed

by all who aspired to speak their language 'correctly' They were compelled, then as now, to learn all the words which according to the dictates of grammarians and orthography begin with aspirate *h* and to distinguish them from words in which *h* has no significance whatever The list as drawn up by Palsgrave has remained practically unchanged to the present day (cf Rosset, p 289) As for the slight aspirate sound which in Modern French sometimes accompanies the articulation of the initial vowel, it merely serves to mark more clearly the beginning of a word and bears no relation to etymology It may be produced, for example, in *c'est une chose 'horrible* or *c'est une chose 'odieuse*, no less than in *c'est une chose 'honteuse*, and it usually accompanies emotional stress

The decision between *'h* and *h* is sometimes taken on grounds which are not historical, e g *l'héroïsme* and *l'héroïne*, but *les héros* (= le ẹro) to avoid confusion with *les zéros*, and thence in the singular *le héros*

Certain words beginning with a vowel or mute *h* have for various reasons since the seventeenth century been treated as though they began with aspirate *h* *le huit* (but cf *dix-huit*), *le onze* by analogy with *le deux, le trois*, etc The hesitation between *il dit que oui* and *il dit qu'oui*, *la ouate* and *l'ouate* dates from the seventeenth century, when *u* in hiatus became semi-consonantal *w* Similarly *avant hier* (without liaison) beside *avant-hier*, which has evolved as a single word, *le huit* for *l'huit* may be in part due to the corresponding change *u* to *w*

INTERVOCAL R > Z

116 The passage of intervocal *r* to *z* (cf § 109), which is so common in popular speech of the sixteenth century, is an instance of the general tendency of intervocal consonants to weaken The relaxed articulation of the linguo-dental vibrant *r* produces automatically the linguo-dental spirant *z* In the sixteenth century this pronunciation (*z* for *r*) threatened to become universal, but the grammarians, aided by orthography (which maintained *r*), succeeded in banishing it from correct usage In the seventeenth century it was confined to

the lower classes, but it is significant that *leur* continued to be pronounced *löz* in liaison *Chaire* and *chaise* represent the survival of the learned and etymological pronunciation beside the popular, the former being reserved for the more specialized and technical meanings of CATHEDRA

(*b*) Groups of consonants

117 The popular tendency to assimilate adjacent consonants (regressively as a rule) persists to the present day in spite of the resistance offered by grammarians, purists, and orthography (*asbeste, obscur, absurde*) The more genuinely popular a word is or becomes, the more likely is this tendency to triumph Recent borrowings, whether from dead or living languages, generally serve a period of probation in technical or special languages before they are fully naturalized, and therefore tend to be accepted in their learned form with consonant groups intact The following brief indications[1] may serve to illustrate the many anomalies which result from the conflict

118 Groups of three or more consonants, whether inherited from Latin or of secondary formation, had been reduced in Old French, with the exception of the group cons + explosive + *l*, *r*, but with the learned restoration of consonants and the introduction of many borrowed words in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they re-appeared *b* was restored towards the end of the seventeenth century in the groups *bsk, bst* (*obscur, substituer*); *k* in *ksk, kst* and *t* in *std, stp* after the seventeenth century (*excursion, extraire, post-dater, postposer*) That such groups are contrary to French habits of pronunciation is clear from the popular tendency to break them up by articulating the constituent consonants in separate syllables and thus forming normal groups (*eks-tra*) or by introducing a feminine *e* (*bourg*[*e*]*mestre, arc*[*e*]*boutant*)

119 The loss of unaccented *ə* created new groups of consonants in many Popular words, but as *e* was maintained in

[1] Based for the most part upon Rosset and Herzog

spelling and often re-appears in pronunciation (§§ 60–4), assimilation has rarely taken place except in regard to voice *metsẽ* (*médecin*), *saftje* (*savetier*), and with progressive assimilation, which is rare, *õšfal* (*un cheval*), *ašfe* (*achever*) As a rule the two consonants are articulated in separate syllables *mad-mwazel* (*mademoiselle*), *or-vwa r* (*au revoir*)

INITIAL GROUPS

120 *s* + cons Initial groups consisting of *s* + cons had in V L developed a prosthetic *e* (§ 84), and borrowed words introduced during the Old French and Middle French periods were normally treated in the same way in popular speech, this tendency persisted down to the beginning of the nineteenth century But in the literary language certain borrowed words had persisted in their Latin form, although borrowed as early as the twelfth century (*splendeur*, *station*, *spirituel*) The grammarians had therefore little difficulty in maintaining intact the initial *s* + cons of words which were newly borrowed or which had never been widely used, particularly as the group *s* + cons was not unknown in popular speech, owing to the elimination of countertonic *ə* (§ 60) They could not hope to restore the group in Popular words, for here *s* had become entirely mute, although preserved in spelling (*estoile*, *espee*) Such a borrowed word as *estampe* represents a compromise between the popular development of a prosthetic *e* and the tendency to maintain *s* in Learned and foreign words

ps had been reduced by the assimilation of *p* to *s* (*psaume*, *psautier*, *psalmiste*, *psalmodie*), but *p* was definitely restored in the eighteenth century

MEDIAL GROUPS

121 *p* + cons The etymologizing tendency of orthography had led to the restoration of *p* in many Popular words, but the attempt to restore it in pronunciation met with no success In Learned words the tendency to suppress *p* continued, particularly after a nasal vowel It was not restored until

the end of the seventeenth century in *rédempteur* and *présomptueux*, and not until the nineteenth in *péremptoire* and *symptôme* It persists as a mere graphy in many Learned words (*exempter*, *promptement*, *sculpter*) and in some Popular words (*corps*, *temps*, *sept*, *septième* beside *septante*) It serves to distinguish *compte* from its homonyms *comte* and *conte*

b + cons *b* having been restored in spelling in the prefixes *ab-*, *ob-*, *sub-*, came to be pronounced sporadically in the sixteenth century and regularly in the seventeenth It is regularly unvoiced before a following voiceless consonant (*absolu*, *obtenir*, *subterfuge*)

d + cons Etymological *ad-* had been restored in many Popular words, but as the *d* was not pronounced and as *a-* (< AD) was a very common prefix, the attempt to restore it was only half-hearted and resulted in many inconsistencies *d* was restored in *adjectif*, *adverbe*, *adverse*, *adversité*, *admonition*, *admirer*, but not in *aversion*, *avocat*, etc The spelling reform of 1740 merely perpetuated these inconsistencies by suppressing *d* wherever it was mute *a(d)version*, but *adverse* In this way arose the doublet *avenir*—*advenir*

122 *k* + cons This group existed only in Learned or semi-Learned words (*siècle*), and the efforts of grammarians to maintain it in later borrowings met with resistance throughout the seventeenth century, particularly for *-anc-*, *-onc-* (*k* was not sounded in *sanctifier*) In some words *c* continued to be written, although not pronounced (*practique*, *subjection*), as late as the seventeenth, or even the eighteenth century (*bienfaicteur*), but generally spelling was brought into line with pronunciation, which suppressed *c* (= k) in words which were commonly used, and preserved or restored it in others (*sanctifier*, *ponctuel*, *diction*, *antarctique*, *effectuer*, *affecter*, *affectation*) Owing to the restoration of *c* (= k) the group *cc*, when followed by *e*, *i*, came to be pronounced *ks* in Learned words in the seventeenth century (*accent*, *occident*) Similarly *xc*, which tended to be reduced to *s*, was maintained as *ks* (*excellent* for sixteenth century *e(x)cellent*) The seventeenth-century tendency to pronounce intervocal *x* as *gz* (as opposed

to sixteenth-century *z*) has been reversed in many words by learned influence (*vexer*, *maxime*), but initial *ex-* followed by a vowel continues to be pronounced *egz* (*examen*, *exemple*, *exercer*). Before a consonant, *x* had been reduced to *s*, but *k* was restored in the seventeenth century (*exclure*, *extrême*)

g + cons In Popular words *gn* was merely a graphy for *n'* In Learned words *gn* was pronounced *n* in the sixteenth century (*regne* = renə), but this pronunciation had to contend with the interpretation of the graphy *gn* as *n'* The seventeenth-century attempt to restore *g* failed before these two established pronunciations The hesitation between *n* and *n'* continued in the seventeenth century, but *n'* triumphed before 1700, except in a few words (*consigner*, *désigner*, *résigner*, *signe*), which adopted *n'* in the eighteenth, and in *signet* which still hesitates between *sinę* and *sin'ę* Words borrowed since the seventeenth century preserve *g* (*diagnose*, *diagnostic*, *ignition*, *inexpugnable*, *pugnacité*, *stagnant*), although even here *gn* now tends to be pronounced *n'* (*incognito* = ẽkǫgnito, but sometimes = ẽkǫn'itǫ) *gm* is maintained in Learned words (*énigme*, *dogme*, *flegme*) in spite of a popular tendency to assimilate *g*

123 *s* + cons By the end of the fifteenth century, *s* before consonant had ceased to be pronounced in Popular words and in those Learned words which did not remain confined to the written language The grammarians attempted to restore *s* in the latter, just as they maintained *s* in pure book-words The resulting hesitation persists throughout the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth Orthography helped to perpetuate the confusion by preserving *s*, whether pronounced or not, although lists were drawn up of words in which *s* was to be pronounced The remaining words of doubtful pronunciation were settled in the eighteenth century, and the spelling reform of 1740, which suppressed *s* wherever it was mute, consecrated the decisions taken. Henceforth, wherever *s* appears in spelling before a consonant, it is pronounced A survival of the old hesitation is to be seen in the double form *fenestré*—*fenêtré*

The pronunciation of *s* in Learned words was the more

easily imposed as the group *s* + cons existed in other Romance idioms from which words were borrowed (§§ 515–18) and had re-appeared during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Popular words through the elimination of *ə* between *s* and a following consonant (§§ 60–1) The familiarity with spoken Italian may also have accustomed polite society to this grouping

s was even restored in the seventeenth century in certain Popular words which had preserved it in spelling (*jusque, lorsque, presque, puisque*) *tandis que* still hesitates between *tādikə* and *tādiskə*

124 Cons +*j* The natural tendency was for *j* to palatalize the preceding consonant, if both belonged to the same syllable The popular confusion of *kj* and *tj*, *dj* and *gj* (§ 114) is still to be observed in patois The palatalization of *l* led to a confusion of *lj* and the *l'* which had been inherited from Old French Both are reduced to *j* in popular speech and continue to be so pronounced to the present day (*ęskaje* for *ęskalje*) Correct usage, as moulded by the grammarians, has restored the group *lj* The parallel confusion between *n'* and *nj* has had a more lasting effect, and *nj* is commonly pronounced *n'* even in the everyday speech of the cultured classes of to-day (*un'ō* for *unjō*)

(*c*) Final consonants

125. The threefold development of final consonants according to the position of the word (§ 101) is still preserved in *six, neuf, dix* (cf *dix jours, il y en a dix, dix hommes*), but apart from such exceptions, it had largely broken down by the sixteenth century Before a word beginning with a vowel the final consonant was to some extent maintained, but before a consonant or a pause it had generally ceased to be sounded in popular speech The elaboration of a 'correct' usage brought with it a conflict between this popular tendency and a learned reaction; for the grammarians, inspired in part by the example of Latin (§ 110) and given to modelling

pronunciation upon spelling, strove to maintain or restore final consonants Their efforts found support not only in orthography but in the natural reaction against the process of phonetic erosion which threatened monosyllabic words with extinction (*if*, *œuf*) and tended to create an excessive number of homonyms (*sens—sang*, *nef—nez*) They could moreover base themselves upon the analogy of cases where the final consonants continued to be sounded (*fer*, *ver*), cf § 128 The number of such words was increased by recent borrowings, which were pronounced in the first place as written The comparative ease with which final *k* and *f* were restored, as compared with *p*, *t*, *s*, is perhaps due to the prevalence of Learned words in *-c* (= k), *-f*, and the paucity of forms in *-p*, *-t*, *-s* Further accessions resulted from the progressive elimination of *ə* (§§ 62–4) The rapid growth of a reading public favoured the restoration of final consonants, but still more the generalization of a single pronunciation for each word Hence the modern system in which the final consonant is either preserved or dropped uniformly, whether the word comes before a pause or is followed by a word beginning with a consonant A vestige of the old distinction is preserved in the modern rules of liaison (§ 135)

126 The conflict between popular and learned tendencies led to hesitation in the sixteenth and a great part of the seventeenth century, as can be seen from the remarks of grammarians and the vacillating orthography (*luc—luth*, *lilac—lilas*, *arsenac—arsenal*) Before the end of the seventeenth century this hesitation was eliminated in the majority of cases, but usage has reversed some of the decisions then taken and still shows hesitation in such words as *nerf*, *sens*, *mœurs*, *fait*, *mars*, *but*, *net*, *cerf*, *legs* The final consonant of *combat*, *secret* was still sounded in the seventeenth century, of *drap*, *trop*, *galop*, in the eighteenth, of *mot*, *sot*, in the nineteenth On the other hand, the final consonant of *net*, *os*, *cep* was not restored until the nineteenth century Orthography continues to favour the restoration of the final consonant, particularly in the speech of the semi-lettered

127 The final consonant is generally preserved in words of limited currency The later the borrowing, the more likely is the consonant to remain (*accessit, déficit, hiatus, gratis, atlas, fat, albatros, vermouth, granit*) Similarly, archaic words preserve the final *s* (*hélas, jadis, sus, cens*) In common words the preservation of the final consonant is generally due to one or more of the factors indicated (§ 125) It serves above all to distinguish what would otherwise be homonyms *sens* from *sang*, *donc* from *dont*, *soit* as an exclamation from *soi(t)* as a part of the verb, *tous* pronoun from *tou(s)* adjective, *os* from *eau*, *nef* from *nez* This is particularly common in short or monosyllabic words, where there is often the further danger that the word may be reduced to a mere vowel (*if, œuf*) Analogy frequently exerts a decisive influence (*ours* ≠ *ourse*, *-if* ≠ *-ive*, *dot* ≠ *doter*, *heurt* ≠ *heurter*)

128 The treatment of final *r* illustrates most adequately the anomalies which have resulted At the beginning of the sixteenth century this consonant persisted only in words where it had originally been followed by another consonant, *fer(r)*, *enfer(n)*, *hiver(n)*, *ver(m)*, and perhaps also in infinitives in *-ir* and *-oir*, where the analogy of infinitives in *-re* may have operated. Supported by such survivals, the attempt to restore or preserve *r* met with considerable success (infinitives in *-ir*, *-oir*, words in *-our*, *-or*, *-ir*, *-ur*, *-ar(d)*, recent borrowings such as *cancer, steamer, revolver, ulster*) , but it failed with the numerous infinitives in *-er* (the pronunciation *-er* being practically confined as early as the seventeenth century to sustained discourse and declamation), also in substantives and adjectives in *-ier* (except *fier*) and *-er* (except *amer, cher, cuiller, mer*, and the cases mentioned above, *fer*, etc), in *monsieur, messieurs* In the suffix *-eur* the final consonant had become mute by the sixteenth century It was therefore confused with *-eux*, and an analogical feminine in *-euse* was sometimes created which survived after the restoration of *r* in the second half of the seventeenth century (*menteur—menteuse, liseur—liseuse*)

129 The case of final *l* is more complicated In Popular words it was tending to disappear in the sixteenth century

(*chou(l)*, *saou(l)*, *cu(l)*), but was generally restored before the end of the seventeenth under the influence of orthography or of the feminine form (*nul—nulle*, *tel—telle*) Learned words preserve final *l* (*calcul*) and favour its restoration in Popular words The resulting hesitation was utilized to distinguish *col* from *cou*, *mol* and *fol* were reserved for liaison After *i* the treatment of *l* is complicated by the fact that the graphy *il* could represent either *i*+*l* or *i*+*l'* and that *l'* was reduced to *j* (which tends to disappear after *i*) Accordingly the final consonant may be restored in the form of *l* (*avril*, *fil* (< FILUM), *cil* (< CILIUM), *péril*, *vil*) or *j* (*grésil*) It is still mute in *chenil*, *coutil*, *outil*, *fusil*, *gentil*, *sourcil* (but popular pron *sursil*≠*cil*) Some words still show hesitation (*nōbril nōbri*, *gril gri* . *gri*, *bari baril*, *furni furnil*) *Fils* (< FILIUS), with restored *s*, replaced *fi(l)* (< FILIUM) which is still preserved in poetry in rimes such as *crucifix fils* (Lamartine, *Le Crucifix*) In familiar speech *il*, *ils* are often reduced to *i* before a pause or a consonant (*s'il vous plaît*, *pleut-il?*, *qu'est-ce qu'ils disent?*)

130 The strength of popular habits of speech is shown by the failure to preserve *s* as the sign of the plural, *s* and *t* in verbal flexions and in many suffixes (*-et*, *-eux*, *-ot*, *-ard*), *r* in *-er* infinitives. This has had far-reaching results in morphology and syntax The flexional distinction between singular and plural has to a large extent disappeared, and the article is almost indispensable as an indication of number In verbs the personal pronoun is similarly called upon to make good the loss of flexional distinctions (*je chante*, *tu chantes*, *il chante*, *ils chantent*) The distinction between masculine and feminine, while in spelling still indicated by *e*, is in the spoken language often indicated merely by the preservation of the final consonant in the feminine, with or without a modification in the quality of the tonic vowel (*so—sot*, *ba—ba s*); cf § 191

131 The tendency to unvoice final voiced consonants (§ 101) persisted in the seventeenth century (*Jacop* for *Jacob*) The campaign in defence of final *ə* (§§ 62–3) preserved the preceding voiced consonant from this tendency (*vide*, *robe*,

digue) Although *e* is no longer sounded in such words, it may be said to have left a deposit in the *ə*-like resonance which accompanies the final voiced consonant Supported by such cases, the voiced consonant has sometimes been restored under the influence of orthography *nord*, *sud* were advocated in the seventeenth century for normal *nort*, *sut*, and *sud* was adopted *g* for *k* dates from the eighteenth century in *joug*, *zigzag*, and from the nineteenth in *bourg* and *legs*, the graphy *legs* for O F *lais* having been adopted owing to false analogy with LEGATUM (cf § 163) In words borrowed since the seventeenth century the final voiced consonant is generally preserved (*club*, *grog*, *whig*)

C *SYNTACTIC PHENOMENA*

132 We have hitherto considered words as separate entities, but their form is also subject to modification according to their place or function in a speech-group The latter may consist of a single word (*Venez!*) or of a series of words (*Faites-moi le plaisir de m'accompagner!*) Phonetically it consists of a succession of syllables articulated without a pause (*fętmwal(ə)plęzi rdəmakõpan'e*) and is therefore sometimes called a breath-group Semantically it represents a single concept (§ 16), but the constituent elements (words) have an individuality of their own which they tend to conserve The consciousness of the word as a unit may result in a modification of normal syllabification (§§ 137, 144) or in a closer phonetic union between those words within the group which are intimately connected syntactically (§ 135) The changes in form which result from such phonetic or semantic groupings have been loosely summed up under the heading Syntactic Phenomena They affect (1) Syllabification (Elision, Liaison, etc), (2) Accentuation (variation in stress and pitch)

1 SYLLABIFICATION

(Hiatus, Elision, Aphæresis, Liaison, Syncope)

133 If a word ending in a vowel is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, both vowels may persist in hiatus (*et après*) In rapid speech slurring sometimes takes place and a diphthong may result (*il y a une raison*), or the first vowel becomes a semi-consonant (*Qu'y a-t-il?*=kjatiˀ, *Celui qui est là*=sɛlwikjɛla) Before so-called aspirate *h* the hiatus has been artificially maintained (§ 115)

134 If the final vowel is *ə*, it is elided, although orthography does not record the elision except for *je, me, te, le, se, ce, de, ne, que*, most compounds of *que*, and the particle *entre* Elision of *ə* has been the rule since the earliest texts, but exceptions are encountered at all periods of the language The hiatus was often maintained before proper names (*au roi de Elemie*, cf A Tobler, *Vom französischen Versbau*, 5th ed. pp 55–73) O F *se* (<si) was regularly elided, whence Mod F *s'il, s'ils*, O F *s'on* (XIII, 25), *s'elle* were replaced by *si on, si elle*, when *si* triumphed over *se* (§ 466) *a* is still elided in *la* (art and pron), but O F *m', t', s'* gave way to *mon, ton, son* in Mid F The elision of other vowels was optional and rare, as in O F *si* (< sic), *qui, li* (m nom s of def art), *ço, jo, lo* *Tu* sometimes appears as *t'* in Old French and in modern popular speech, but this may represent the elided form of analogical *te* (§ 237)

Modern French shows considerable hesitation in the elision of *e* and *a* (and in the articulation of a liaison-consonant) before initial *i, u, u* in hiatus, according as the latter develop semi-consonantal or semi-vocalic value Elision is usual in Popular words (*l'huile, l'oiseau*, cf also *un oiseau, mon oiseau*), less common in Learned and foreign words (*l'yeuse, l'hiatus*, but *le wagon, la ouate, le yacht*) For non-elision before numerals and before aspirate *h*, cf § 115

The reduction of the hiatus by the elimination of the second vowel (aphæresis) is found in Old French only (*si est* > *si'st, lui en* > *lui'n, qui en* > *qui'n*)

135 Hiatus is in many cases avoided by the articulation of a liaison-consonant Generally the consonant is etymologically justified and perpetuates the Old French practice of preserving the final consonant before a word beginning with a vowel (§ 101) But at the beginning of the sixteenth century this practice was breaking down before the popular tendency to suppress all final consonants (§ 125) The modern rules of liaison date in the main from the seventeenth century, when the hesitation in the pronunciation of final consonants was utilized to avoid hiatus between two consecutive words The grammarians, anxious to maintain final consonants, strove to extend the use of liaison-consonants Polite usage effected a compromise for the liaison-consonant to be pronounced it was necessary, not only that both words should belong to the same speech-group, but that there should be a close syntactic connection between them (*vous avez, il vous aime, les enfants, nos amis, vient-il?, pas encore*) or that they should form fixed locutions (*un sang impur*) The rules of the grammarians were more faithfully observed in sustained discourse and in declamation Popular speech continued to suppress final consonants The same distinctions of usage obtain at the present day, but standard usage tends more and more to reflect the popular aversion to liaison and to condemn its excessive use as pedantic It remains obligatory between article and substantive, adjective and substantive, pronoun and verb, auxiliary verb and participle or adjective, between a preposition, adverb or conjunction and the following word, interrogative verb and pronoun, verb and preposition, optional between verb and direct object, substantive and verb, substantive and adjective There is also a marked tendency to articulate laxly those liaison-consonants which are preserved Their number is not large *z*, *t*, *n* are the most common, *p*, *k*, *v* less so, while *r* is confined to sustained discourse or declamation Final *s* and *f* appear as *z* and *v* respectively (*pas encore, neuf heures*), *p*, *t*, *k* remain voiceless in spite of the spellings *d*, *g* (*trop aimable, un froid hiver, un sang impur*) The articulation of final *n* in liaison brought with it

the denasalization of the preceding vowel (*bon ami*), but learned influence reacted against this popular tendency (§ 79)

136 Occasionally a liaison-consonant is introduced which is not etymological This is a popular feature and is due to a misguided attempt to imitate the liaisons characteristic of refined speech, the consonants most frequently employed being *z* and *t* Generally some analogical influence determines the choice of the consonant (*quatre*[*z*]*hommes*, *le bal des Quat'zArts*, *mille*[*z*]*amities*, *j'ai*[*z*]*été*, *Malbrough s'en va-t-en guerre*) Such false liaisons (called 'cuirs', 'velours', or 'pataquès') are attested in popular speech from the seventeenth century onwards (cf Rosset, pp 277 ff), but do not as a rule find acceptance in standard usage A striking exception is furnished by the interrogative form of the 3rd sing. pres indic of *-er* verbs (*donne-t-il?* *aime-t-il?*), where *t* is not to be interpreted as a survival of etymological *t* (DONAT, AMAT), which had long since disappeared, but as a false liaison-consonant introduced by analogy with *dit-il*, *fait-il*, etc *Entre quatre*[*z*] *yeux* has, by a surprising dispensation, been sanctioned by the Academy

137 The liaison-consonant is invariably carried over into the next syllable in accordance with the prevailing rules of syllabification (*le-zom*, *vu-zave*) Consequently such linked forms have occasionally been falsely interpreted in popular speech (*le*)*zyeux* (*les yeux*) has given a popular verb *zyeuter* Cf also *un nombril* for *un ombril*

138 A word ending in a vowel generally remains intact, if followed by a word beginning with a consonant, but in popular speech the final vowel is often dropped, particularly if the preceding consonant is the same as the initial consonant of the following word Such forms as *qu'a-vous?* (*qu'avez-vous?*), *sa-vous?* (*savez-vous?*) were even taken up into the literary language of the sixteenth century (cf Brunot, II, p 276) But in standard usage and in the literary language the vowel chiefly affected is *ə*.

139 The progressive weakening of monosyllabic words

used proclitically had often resulted in the reduction of the vowel to *ə* (*le, me, te,* etc) (§ 21). When such words were, as the result of close syntactic connection, linked with the preceding word, the process was carried to the point of eliminating *ə* completely This form of apocope is called Enclisis Thus *à* + *le* (def art) > *al, de* + *le* > *del, en* + *le* > *enl,* reduced to *el* (*al conte, del tens, el mostier*), and with vocalization of *l* before a word beginning with a consonant, *au, du* (for *deu*), *eu* respectively For *eu* the form *ou*[1] appears from the thirteenth century onwards (XI, 34, XII, 96) and continues in use down to the fifteenth century The connection with *en* having been lost sight of, *ou* was confused syntactically and phonetically with *au* and was replaced by it (XVII, 33, of the legal formula *en mon nom et au sien*) [2] Similarly *à* + *les* > *als,* reduced to *as*, which was gradually replaced by *aux* (≠*au*), *aux* appears as early as the thirteenth century, *de* + *les* > *dels,* early reduced to *des* (≠*les*), *en* + *les* > *enls* > *els* > *es* (XIII, 10), still used in the sixteenth century, preserved as a literary archaism in the seventeenth, and surviving in *bachelier ès lettres, maître ès arts,* and the like

140 The enclisis of the personal pronouns *me, te, se, le,* before a word beginning with a consonant, which still obtains in modern speech, with certain qualifications (see below), is no longer noted in writing as it was down to the fourteenth century (*sis* = *si se, nem* = *ne me, sim* = *si me, oul* = *où le, kis* = *ki se*) With the change *ls* > *les* (§ 63), the common Old French enclisis of the pronoun *les* (*kis* = *ki les, luis* = *lui les*) disappeared

141 After the imperative, *le* is maintained if it bears the group-accent (*fais-le*) If it is not so accented and is followed by a word beginning with a vowel, it is elided in the Classical

[1] *ou* being the normal unaccented form corresponding to tonic *eu* (*mourir meurt*)

[2] The definite article is no longer used after *en*, except in set expressions (*en l'espèce, en l'air, en l'an* 2000, *en la saison des pluies*) The instinctive avoidance of *en* + def art even goes to the length of substituting *dans* for *en* after such verbs as *consister* whenever the definite article follows (*Le bonheur consiste dans la vertu*)

poets (*Ou bien faites-le entrer* , *Le Misanthrope*, II, v), cf also VIII, 29 The modern artificial rule against such an elision must be attributed to the analogical influence of *faites-le* used as an independent phrase and therefore with group-accent on *le*

142 In the case of polysyllabic words the treatment of final *ə* is in Modern French governed by the so-called 'loi des trois consonnes', which stipulates that when *ə* is preceded by two consonants and followed by a third, it must be pronounced (*Charles douze*, *presque pas*, *reste-là*, *notre père*) The same law applies when there is a succession of syllables containing *ə*, the usual practice being to drop every other *ə* *je le sais* (žəlse), *je ne le sais pas* (žənləsepɑ), *c'est ce que je te disais* (sęskəžtədizę), but *ce que je ne veux pas* (skəžənvopɑ) (cf Nyrop, *Gram Hist* I, § 294)

The initial consonant of a word, if followed by *ə*, is thus often drawn into the preceding syllable *le chemin* (ləš-mē), *au-delà* (od-la), *la pelouse* (lap-lu z), but cf *chemin faisant* (šəmēfəzɑ̄), *une pelouse* (unpəlu z)

143 In familiar, rapid speech the elimination of *ə* often takes place contrary to the 'loi des trois consonnes', the preceding consonant being dropped at the same time *maît(re)d'hôtel*, *à quat(re)pattes* The pronunciation of a word like *quatre* may therefore vary considerably according to position and circumstances Before a vowel, it will normally appear as *ka-tr*, *tr* being carried over into the next syllable (*quatre hommes*), before a consonant, often *kat* (*à quatre sous*), at the end of a speech-group, *katr* with a very faint *r* (*il faudra se mettre en quatre*), in careful, slow speech, before a consonant or before a pause, *ka-trə* (*Il y en a quatre*, *sans compter Jean*), to which we might add *entre quatre*[*z*]*yeux* (cf § 136)

No attempt can here be made to discuss the many anomalies, fluctuations and contradictions which the treatment of *ə* presents They result not only from the conflict of inherited habits of speech with new tendencies, of the written word with the spoken, of the word as a separate entity with its rôle in the speech-group, they exist as between different

classes of the community, and they occur in the speech of one and the same cultured person According as he dictates a message, recites poetry, delivers a set oration, converses at ease in his drawing-room or is constrained to come quickly to the point, he will tend more and more to eliminate the feminine *e* from his discourse We have here but one of the many features which give to the French language its flexibility and its adaptability to the mood and temper of the speaker

144 If a word ending in a consonant is followed by a word beginning with a consonant, the resulting group of two or more consonants is often modified in modern popular speech As a corollary to the 'loi des trois consonnes' an *ə* is developed between the second and third of a group of three consonants (*le turc[ə]pur, l'ours[ə]blanc, Ernest[ə]Blanc*, examples cited by Nyrop, *Manuel*, § 88) As a general rule cultured speech, which is more conscious of and guided by the written word, accommodates itself to such groups by accentuating the syllabic division (*urs-blā*) Occasionally an accessory *ə* of this kind is intercalated in an endeavour to give prominence to the final consonant *post[ə]quam, post[ə]scriptum, post[ə]tonique, à l'Est[ə]de la France* Such forms are due in part to a reaction against another popular tendency, the assimilation of the first consonant to the second (*pos(t)scriptum*) Such assimilations find grudging acceptance in cultured speech (*cap vert* = kabvę r, *avec Jean* = avęgžã, *tête dure* = tęddu r)

2 ACCENTUATION

(*a*) Stress

145 One of the most striking developments in the history of the French language is the gradual elimination of word-stress in favour of group-stress In Latin the rhythm of the group was determined by word-stress (i e the alternation of tonic and atonic syllables), modified at most by a slight increase of stress on words which logic or emotion singled out for special emphasis Accordingly, short words of purely syntactic significance tended to be pronounced with less

stress and to play the same part in the group rhythm as atonic syllables They therefore grouped themselves round the nearest tonic syllable, proclitically with the following or enclitically with the preceding If such words received a logical stress equivalent to normal tonic stress, they show the same development as tonic syllables (cf the twofold development of MĒ > *me* and *moi*, § 21)

146 The tonic stress was perhaps the most important single factor in the phonetic history of the Romance languages, and it was particularly strong in Gallo-Roman and Old French It led to the loss or reduction to *ə* of the Latin post-tonic vowels, and all Popular words were therefore stressed on the last syllable unless that syllable contained an *ə* The first syllable continued to be articulated with secondary stress, and counterfinal syllables, caught between two stresses, were to a large extent eliminated Proclitic and enclitic words were still further reduced, and often little remains of them except the characteristic consonant (§ 139) Group-stress, as distinct from tonic stress, was apparently still determined in Old French by logic and emotion, but a tendency to stress the final syllable of a group can be traced It finds support in versification, which by means of assonance or rime gives prominence to the final syllable At the same time the first syllable of a group received a marked stress (perhaps already in Latin) and there is a tendency to place in this position words which it is desired to emphasize

147 It was undoubtedly in the Middle French period that the group-stress began more and more to overshadow the tonic stress and that the characteristic accentuation of Modern French was developed This change is clearly connected with the gradual elimination of *ə*, a change which made all Popular words oxytonic Words which had been accented on the first syllable in Latin thus became monosyllabic. Other Popular words (except derivatives) generally preserve in addition to the tonic syllable only the initial (countertonic). Consequently in Middle French, if we except Learned words, a speech-group consisted largely of tonic syllables, often con-

secutive or separated only by countertonic syllables, and (apart from a dwindling number of feminine *e*'s) proclitic monosyllables The constituent syllables of a group thus tended to be reduced to a common level, but the oxytonic rhythm of the language was maintained by strengthening the stress on the final syllable of the group From the point of view of stress, the word is therefore replaced by a group with the strongest stress on the final syllable and a secondary stress on the initial Word-stress being thus eliminated, the intervening syllables are stressed according to meaning, the more significant elements receiving a sense-stress In polysyllabic words the sense-stress often falls on the initial syllable, for such words are to a large extent derivatives (*prémier*, *fermier*, *máladie*, *máisniée*) or verb forms This tendency, coupled with the tendency to stress the initial syllable of a group, completes the elimination of the tonic stress, and a definite turning-point in the history of French pronunciation is thus reached From the nature of the process it is impossible to assign a definite date to this turning-point, but indirect evidence suggests that in its main features the modern accentual system was constituted by the end of the sixteenth century In Modern French the tonic stress is uniformly preserved only if the word is used by itself (i e constitutes a group in itself) or if it is the final word of a group Nothing could illustrate more clearly the triumph of group-stress than the fact that even an unaccented enclitic pronoun receives a stress if it happens to stand in the final position (*faites-le*), cf § 141

148 Modern French has thus developed a rhythm which distinguishes it clearly from all other European languages It is in principle an oxytonic rhythm (emphasised by a rising intonation), the final syllable receiving somewhat more stress than the preceding syllables An interesting exception to this rule has been noted by Herzog (*op cit* p 63), viz that if the final syllable ends in *ō*, there is a tendency to transfer the stress to the penultimate syllable Our impression is that this applies to disyllabic words only (*Vous avez raison*) and

is perhaps due to an instinctive desire to stress the significant element (i e the first syllable), *ō* being reduced to the rôle of a mere supporting vowel Words of more than two syllables (*condition, floraison*) do not appear to be so affected Normally there is also a stress on the initial syllable of the group, or if it be a proclitic (*je, ne,* etc), the following syllable The intervening syllables are unaccented, but in longer groups one can observe a slight rhythmical but irregular alternation of stressed and unstressed syllables None of these rhythmical variations in stress are very pronounced, and they are at every moment overshadowed by the stress which is given to various syllables according to the emotion of the speaker (*Il veut absólument partir*) or the meaning (*Je loge au prémier étage*) [1] The rhythmical (group) stress, the emotional, and the logical may fall upon different syllables or combine to give a particular prominence to one and the same syllable Emotional stress and logical stress are not peculiar to French, but it is in the prominence which the elimination of the tonic stress (word-stress) secures to them that the special virtue of the French tongue lies, its flexibility and suppleness, its claim to be considered the eloquent language *par excellence* The rhythm of the language reflects directly the emotion of the man

149 The etymological stress lives on in the form of a group-stress whenever a word comes at the end of a group, but as the word moves to other positions in the group the stress disappears Consequently the word loses its consistency The quality and quantity of vowels vary *ā* is distinctly shorter in *Que penses-tu?* than in *Qu'est-ce que tu penses?*, *o* is a tense vowel in *Il fait ce qu'il peut,* but tends towards *ə* in *Qu'est-ce que cela peut être?* (cf §§ 52, 64) But nothing could be more erroneous than to interpret such variations as indecision or lax articulation The dominant character of French pro-

[1] Sense-stress is not to be confused with the emphatic stress so common in English, e g I live on the *first* floor To secure such emphasis French resorts to other devices, as for example, *C'est au premier (étage) que je loge* (cf § 484)

nunciation remains the crisp, energetic, distinct articulation of both vowels and consonants

(*b*) Pitch

150 Variations of pitch in connected speech constitute what is called Intonation Nothing is known of the historical development of French intonation It is probable that the tonic stress continued, as in Latin, to be accompanied by a slight pitch-accent, and the close connection between stress and pitch variations in Modern French lends some support to this hypothesis In Modern French, variations of pitch, like variations in stress, are determined not by etymology but by the constitution of the speech-group A slight raising of the pitch is natural with increase of stress, and as the rise in pitch generally extends over adjoining syllables, we find that within a normal speech-group a rising intonation is characteristic of Modern French speech But syllables which bear a sense-stress or emotional stress are usually distinguished by a more pronounced change in pitch, generally a rise (*C'est épatant!*, *Vous avez mille fois raison!*, *Ça coûte horriblement cher!*) but sometimes a fall Similarly the group-accent may be accompanied by a more pronounced raising of the pitch if attention is to be called to the fact that the speaker has not completed his thought (*Je vais vous dire*), a lowering indicates finality (*Je n'ai plus rien à vous dire*) or the end of the last of a series of groups Variations of pitch, in so far as they express certain emotions, do not differ markedly from those of other languages, e g the rising intonation of direct questions They are, in French, variations upon a fundamental theme—the characteristic rising melody of the normal speech-group [1]

[1] We have omitted as not strictly relevant to our purpose the consideration of speech-groups in combination and of sub-groups We would refer the reader to the works of Klinghardt and of Herzog mentioned in the Bibliography

Chapter IV

ORTHOGRAPHY[1]

151 When the first documents in the vernacular were composed, the Latin alphabet was naturally employed The spoken language had not yet evolved so far as to render the Latin orthographic symbols unsuitable, particularly as the pronunciation of Latin had by that time become contaminated by the vernacular The earliest documents were written down by clerks who had hitherto written only Latin, and for them the phonetic equivalents of the Latin letters were no longer those of Classical but of Merovingian Latin The Carolingian reforms affected orthography and syntax much more than pronunciation, and Latin continued to be pronounced more or less like French thus the orthographic confusion between *i* and *e* might be to a large extent eliminated by these reforms, but *c* before *e* and *i* continued to be pronounced as *ts* Consequently, we shall find that *e* and *i* are identified in Old French spelling with the corresponding vowel sounds, while *c* remains an ambiguous symbol

152. The adaptation of the Latin alphabet presented more difficult problems in the case of the new sounds that had developed in the vernacular The earliest monument (the *Strasburg Oaths*, Extr No 1) illustrates the difficulties with which a scribe accustomed to Latin was faced The scribe of this document is sometimes content to employ the Latin word (*pro* 3, *quid* 7, *nunquam* 7, *in damno sit* 8), quite apart from Learned (*christian* 3) and semi-Learned (*sagrament* 11) forms, or to employ traditional (etymological) symbols for new sounds (*cist* 5 = *cest*, *int* 13 = *ent*), incorrect *i* for *e* (*prindrai* 7) He adopts an imperfect notation for diphthongs (*savir*, *podir* 4 for *saveir*, *podeir*) or keeps the traditional spelling

[1] In addition to the works mentioned in the Bibliography, cf particularly Meyer-Lubke, *Hist fr Gram* 1, ch 3

(*poblo* 3, *meon* 8, *vol* 8), but cf *dreit* 6, *plaid* 7, *pois* 13 He is obviously at a loss over the new sound *ə* (*nostro* 3, *salvarai* 5, *fradre* 5, *fradra* 6, *suo* 12), and makes a hesitating use of *dh* to indicate the fricative *d*, a stage which the intervocal dental had by this time reached (*ajudha* 5, *cadhuna* 6, *Ludher* 7; cf *podir* 4, *fradre* 5) The change *kj* > *ts* is recorded in *fazet* 7, *p* > *v* in *savir* 4 Consequently, the linguistic interpretation of this document, which shows in general an archaizing tendency, bristles with difficulties, e g the interpretation of *dunat* 5, *conservat* 11 as Presents, and of *jurat* 11 as a Preterite, depends largely on the evidence furnished by the corresponding German version of the Oaths

153 The manuscript of the *Eulalia* (Extr. No 11) shows marked progress, and already the admirable orthography of the twelfth century is foreshadowed The scribe is still often content with the Latin spelling (*rex* 12 = *reis*, *inimi* 3 = *enemi*), but makes interesting attempts to spell phonetically (*manatce* 8, *czo* 21, *lazsier* 24), and adopts *ch* as a symbol for *k* before *e*, *i* (*chi* 6, 12, *chielt* 13 = dialectal *kielt*, *chieef* 22 = dial. *kief*) The diphthongs, allowing for dialectal variations, are remarkably well noted (*bellezour* 2, *veintre* 3, *ruovet* 24, etc).

154 The orthography of the literary texts (particularly *chansons de geste*) of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is well-nigh as perfect as is possible with the Latin alphabet, and, all things considered, remarkably uniform. This uniformity presupposes the elaboration of rules and the careful training of scribes Such evidence as we have suggests that the latter were trained, and transcribed their manuscripts, in the jongleurs' schools As the works they transcribed were intended to be sung or recited, and not read, their orthography aims at rendering the spoken word and suggests auditory as opposed to visual images They continue and improve upon the orthography of such works as the *Eulalia*, i e. they eliminate from the Latin spelling those Latin letters which had ceased to be pronounced and employ existing symbols or combinations of symbols to render as phonetically

as possible the new sounds (particularly diphthongs) which developed They succeeded in creating a system of spelling which, while not perfect, corresponds more closely with the spoken language than at any subsequent stage in the history of the French language This applies particularly to the standard literary language of about the middle of the twelfth century It will be seen at once that its chief defect lies in the utilization of one symbol for a rather wide range of related sounds, or even for widely differing sounds. But this was inevitable, unless new symbols had been evolved.

155 Thus *e*, *ę*, *e* (< A), *ə* were all denoted by a common symbol *e* The *ę* which resulted from the reduction of *ai* continued to be denoted by *ai*, but also with growing frequency by *e* The modern distinction between *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*, was (as in Latin) not observed *u* (< ū) was denoted by the traditional graphy *u* (*v*), but the same symbol was also used in Norman and Anglo-Norman for *o* or *u* (< *o*) Elsewhere *o* was denoted by *o*, with a consequent confusion with *o* for *ǫ* The notation of diphthongs and triphthongs (*ie*, *ui*, *ei* (*oi*), *ou*, *eau*, *ieu*) was at first phonetic, but tended to become traditional and thus to represent an obsolete pronunciation *uo* was rendered by *ue* (sometimes *oe*), representing the older pronunciation *ue*, *ou* was rendered by *ou*, later by *eu*, *ai* and *au* (where they persisted as diphthongs) and *ou* (< *o* + *l*) were spelt *ai*, *au*, *ou* respectively The nasalization of vowels and diphthongs (*ī*, *ūl*, *ēi*, *iē*, *ōi*, *uē*, *uī*) was not noted in spelling, except by a hesitating use of the doubling of medial *m*, *n*, and perhaps by the graphy *ngn* (n′) The change *ē* > *ā* is reflected in an extensive use of the phonetic spelling *an* (regularly employed in the manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes' works, cf Extr No VI), but tradition and an etymologizing tendency proved too strong the etymological spelling (*en*) was preserved or restored in the majority of cases. The graphy *an* is frequently used as late as the seventeenth century (cf XVIII *b*, 26, also XVI *passim*) and has survived in a number of words (*sans*, *langue*, etc) In the same way the later change *āi* > *ēi* was only sporadically noted in spelling

156 *ts* (< *k*^{i} or < *tj* after a consonant) was denoted by *c* (and when it became final by *z*), which had already received this value in Church Latin In words where *ts* occurred before *a*, *o*, *u* (*ço* < ECCE HOC), the use of *c* created ambiguity, which was sometimes obviated by the substitution of *ce* (after *e* had become mute), less frequently of *cz* (cf *czo* in the *Eulalia*, 21) *ts* (< *t* + *s* or < *sts* or < *s* after *l'*, *n'*, *nn*) was denoted by *z* (*amez*, *oz* < HOSTES, *vielz*, *poinz*, *anz*) *tš* (< *k*^{a} or < *pj*) was denoted by *ch*, a graphy in which *h* originally rendered the aspirate quality of Greek *χ* and later served to indicate the fricative quality of palatalized *k* The graphy *ch* has been preserved throughout all the subsequent changes *k'* > *tš* > *š* *dž* (< *g*^{a} or < *bj*, *mj*, *vj*) was denoted by *g* before following *e*, *i*, by *j* (and sometimes by *g*) in other cases, in conformity with traditional spelling (GENTEM > *gent*, JAM > *ja*) *l'* was denoted by *ill* (*il* or *ill* when final), the *i* serving to indicate the palatal element *n'* was denoted by *gn*, *ign*, *ngn*, *gn* being traditional in such words as *legne* < LIGNA, *i* (of *ign*) rendering the palatal element, *n* (of *ngn*) probably indicating nasalization The semi-consonant *j* is rendered by *i* (*j*), which, as we have seen, also renders *i* and *dž* *v* is rendered by *u* (*v*), which also renders *ú* and *u*, to obviate this confusion *o* was sporadically employed for initial *u* (vowel) in such words as *oeil*, *oef*, and later an *h* was occasionally prefixed, as in *huis* (to distinguish *uis* from *vis*), *vu* is often denoted by *w* *w* was rendered by *u* in the groups *qu* and *gu* (< Germ *w*), and when the labial element disappeared (cf § 103) *qu* became a symbol for *k*, *gu* being preserved as a graphy for hard *g* before *e*, *i* (*guerre*)

157 *y* (as a graphy for *i*) was at first sparingly used and confined to Learned words *x* (or a symbol interpreted as *x*) was frequently employed as an abbreviation for final *us* (*animax*, *Dex*), but as early as the twelfth century it came to be considered as a variant of final *s*, and *ũ* was re-introduced (*animaux*, *Dieux*) Subsequently *x* was extended to many plurals (§ 185) *h* had ceased to have any phonetic value in Latin, but continued to be used fitfully by scribes, sometimes contrary to traditional spelling (*hermite*, *hermine*)

It was also adopted as a graphy for the aspirate *h* of words borrowed from Germanic (*heaume*, *hameau*)

158 The etymologizing and Latinizing tendency of scribes is further seen in the fluctuating use of double consonants beside the more common (and phonetic) single consonant [1] In the case of *s*, *r*, *m*, *n*, this doubling had however a phonetic significance Intervocal *ss* served to distinguish voiceless *s* from voiced *s* (=z) In the earlier documents *rr* is generally kept in conformity with etymology and represents a survival of double *r* (i e a more prolonged vibration) in speech; but exceptions are numerous (cf § 337) The common doubling of *m* and *n* probably serves to indicate nasalization (cf § 78).

159 The imperfections of this system are due to economy in the use of symbols (the same symbol being used to denote a variety of sounds) and to traditionalism Adherence to the traditional symbol means that when phonetic evolution has caused two originally distinct sounds to coalesce, orthography has at its disposal two symbols for the same sound (*en an*, *g i* (*j*), *ai e*, etc) By a discriminating use of such alternative spellings homonyms may be distinguished to the eye, but so long as works were written to be sung or recited such a distinction was of little consequence

160 The system we have described represents on the whole an admirable adaptation of traditional symbols to the purposes of phonetic notation But with the elaboration of a more or less standardized usage there came into being a new tradition, to which French orthography has practically adhered ever since Subsequent changes in pronunciation are but rarely indicated, and even before the end of the Old French period orthography had ceased to be phonetic in many respects The reduction of *ou* and *uo* to the monophthong *o* is not indicated, and *eu*, less frequently *ue*, *oeu*, *ueu*, continued to be used as symbols for this sound After the reduction of *ou* to *u* in such forms as *mout* (< *molt*), *escouter* (< *escolter*), a new graphy (*ou*) was available and was gradually

[1] This fluctuation is a characteristic feature of Anglo-Norman (cf Extr No v), but cf also No xii, notes

adopted in order to distinguish *u* from *v* The hesitation between the graphies *o* and *ou* reflects a corresponding hesitation in pronunciation (cf §§ 65–6) The change *ei* > *oi* brought with it a corresponding orthographic change, but the subsequent evolution of *oi* was not indicated, except for an occasional use of *oe* or *oue* to render *we* (cf §§ 72–4) The reduction of diphthongs to a combination of semi-consonant + vowel is likewise not indicated (*pied*, *lui*) The graphies *c*, *ch*, *z*, *g*, *i* (*j*) continued to be used after the elimination of the dental element (*t*)*s*, (*t*)*ś*, (*d*)*z*, (*d*)*ž* Pre-consonantal *s*, although mute, was retained in spelling *ai* was generally restored wherever it was the etymological equivalent of *e* (*fait* is preferred to *fet*) Final unsupported *t* was retained long after it had ceased to be pronounced Although *l* had been vocalized to *u* before a consonant, it continued to be used freely to denote the new sound, sometimes in addition to the new sound (*moult*), occasionally for *u* not resulting from *l* (*nevolz* for *nevouz* (< NEPOTES) in the *Roland*, 2420) The reduction of final *ts* to *s* is not regularly noted by *s* (for older *z*)

161 A number of archaic spellings were thus perpetuated, but the rapid deterioration of orthography from the fourteenth century onwards is due above all to the introduction of superfluous letters These are of two kinds (1) Letters introduced by analogy (*vifs* for *vis* ≠ *vif*, *perds* for *perz*, *pers* ≠ *perdent*, etc) These were common in the Old French period but became more and more numerous in Middle French and led to such spellings as *animaulx*, in which *l* (or *u* < *l*) is represented by *u*, by *l*, and by *x* (= *us*) (2) Etymological letters introduced under the influence of the Latin etymon (real or supposed) Such letters are comparatively rare in Old French (e g *corps* in the *Eulalia*, 2) With the revival of interest in the Ancients and the translation of Latin works, such spellings rapidly increased The passage from a literature intended to be sung or recited to one intended for reading is a decisive factor, for the aim of the scribe is no longer to suggest an auditory but a visual image, to invest the word with a form which shall individualize it The norm is no longer provided by

the scribes of the *chansons de geste* but by those charged with the engrossing of legal charters and documents, and with the transcription of works of a more learned or didactic character It is a mistake to ascribe the introduction of etymological letters to scholars and pedants [1]

162. The development of French orthography from the fourteenth century onwards is determined almost entirely by the preponderant rôle of the legal fraternity and particularly of the lawyers' clerks The development of the royal courts and of numerous other jurisdictions (ecclesiastical, baronial, etc) and the introduction of written procedure rapidly multiplied the number of documents of all kinds A modern brief is a mere bagatelle beside the mountains of depositions, indictments, rebuttals, judgments, and reports which an insignificant case involved in mediæval procedure This incredible mass of documents, ranging from mere scrawls to carefully engrossed documents, was the work of the vast community of lawyers' clerks employed at Paris and elsewhere The clerks were not only numerous, they formed a powerful order, of which the most important community was the Basoche of Paris with its king, its constitutional rules, and a power analogous to that of a modern trade-union It was from among their number that the court-officers and magistrates were recruited The majority of the outstanding writers (Jean de Meun and many others) were clerks or connected with the law, and in the sixteenth century such writers as Calvin and Rabelais were brought up in a legal atmosphere and naturally adopted the orthography of the clerks In this way it received an added weight of authority It is probable that the majority of scribes from 1300 onwards were clerks

163 The considerations and principles which guided the clerks (*praticiens*) were of a mixed kind They wrote under the general supervision of the magistrates The latter were

[1] Reference to the Extracts (Appendix A) will show that etymological spellings are already very common in the *Quinze Joyes de Mariage* (No XIII) They are most numerous in Rabelais (No XIV), after which they show a steady decline (Nos XV–XVIII).

concerned to establish a more or less traditional usage and to bring orthography (and to some extent pronunciation) into line with Latin, which was still used for certain purposes and persisted as a barbarous *lingua franca* until standard French came to be generally used throughout France As in earlier times, the influence of Latin orthography was all the more potent in that the Latin in use before the Renaissance was a sort of Latinized French, intelligible to the poorest scholar The introduction of superfluous letters provided a means of distinguishing homonyms and was encouraged for this reason also Thus we find the clerks applying more or less consciously the two principles which M Beaulieux calls the principle of 'rapprochement' and the principle of 'differentiation' The former aims at securing a similarity of form as between words which are etymologically related or associated by analogy of some kind or other *mes* comes to be written *mets* under the influence of *mettre*, *les* or *lais* (verbal substantive of *laisser*) becomes *legs* under the influence of LEGATUM, to which it is only related semantically, similarly *pois* (< PENSUM, supine of PENDERE) becomes *poids* under the influence of PONDUS (a mistaken etymology) The principle of differentiation, which seeks to distinguish homonyms, may operate at the same time, as was undoubtedly the case in all three examples cited above *legs* is distinguished by its spelling from *lai*, *lait*, *lais*, *laie*, *mets* from *mai*, *maie*, *mais*, *poids* from *pois*, *poix* Practical considerations decide, and the principle of differentiation is normally applied only if the homonyms are likely to be confused owing to similarity of meaning or function

164 The introduction of superfluous letters is also prompted by a desire to give more body to words which the process of phonetic erosion had reduced, in some cases almost to the vanishing-point But in this direction the scribes were clearly actuated by a less worthy motive, the desire for gain As they were paid by quantity they proceeded with characteristic lack of scruple to write an excessively large and sprawling hand A check was placed upon this by specifying the

number of words per page, and the redundancy of many legal formulae is doubtless due in part at least to the efforts of scribes to counter this regulation Then instructions were issued prescribing the number of lines per page and the number of letters per line, but the scribes were equal to the occasion they fell back upon such spellings as *animaulx*, *genoulx*, etc It is in such hands that fate left the elaboration of the orthography which was to remain authoritative throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and which Modern French perpetuates to a large extent Behind it was the whole weight of the law, so imposing at that time And this weight was concentrated at the Capital, in the Parlement, the Palais, and the Châtelet (to which were attached the Basoche and kindred corporations) It is through them that the orthography (and to some extent the pronunciation of the Capital) was extended to the provincial courts and to the provinces in general

165 As might be expected, this orthography is uniform in its general aspect, the same in literary works as in legal documents throughout France, but in detail it is far from regular and uniform There is little attempt to spell phonetically Calligraphic considerations outweigh the orthographic *x* continued to be treated as a variant for final *s*, *z* was often retained, although the group *ts* which it denoted had been reduced to *s*, it became an archaic variant of final *s* and was favoured as such *y* as a variant of final *i* had an extraordinary vogue, being favoured because it served to indicate more clearly the division of words in the sprawling calligraphy of the scribes and stood out more clearly from neighbouring *m*, *n*, *u*, moreover it was more ornate and occupied more space Changes in pronunciation since the twelfth century are ignored the reduction of *ie* to *e* (*mangier* > *manger*) is one of the few changes which gradually find expression The graphy *sc* for *ss*, which is found as early as the thirteenth century, is much favoured, particularly in the suffix *-esce* (for *-esse*) and initially, where association with Latin is sometimes partly responsible (*scavoir* for *savoir* (< *SAPÉRE) by associa-

tion with SCIRE?). The influence of Latin is also to be seen in such spellings as *pauvre* for *povre*, *aile* for *ele* (< ALA), *clair* for *cler* (< CLARUM) But the most striking feature is the use of superfluous letters which the introduction of many Learned words fostered and whose number was slightly increased by scholars and humanists of the sixteenth century (*dipner* for *di(s)ner* by association with δειπνεῖν)

166 The first attempts at reform date from the sixteenth century and are indirectly inspired by the revival of learning The reform of Latin pronunciation, while not completely successful, resulted in the restoration of a great many sounds that had disappeared from pronunciation but not from spelling The close correspondence between spelling and pronunciation which Latin now presented roused a number of scholars to emulation they aimed at reforming French spelling so that it too might reflect accurately the sounds of the spoken language, but the force of tradition, the tendency to Latinism, and practical considerations proved too strong The most influential of them, Robert Estienne, abandoned his early ideas of reform in favour of a thoroughly conservative attitude, and in the successive editions of his famous *Dictionaire françois-latin* (1539 ff) he simply adopts the orthography of the *praticiens* His authority was sufficient to defeat the advocates of phonetic systems of spelling (Meigret, etc), whose cause was moreover weakened by their own lack of consistency and the multiplicity of their systems More fortunate were the discreet attempts of Ronsard and his disciples to simplify spelling, to distinguish *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* Their reforms were in part abandoned by their own authors but largely adopted by the Dutch printers (Plantin, the Elzevirs) who, in the seventeenth century, flooded the country with their books, and gradually accustomed the public to a more simplified system The cause of reform found many protagonists in the seventeenth century The Précieuses favoured a simpler and more phonetic orthography, the process of simplification went on but slowly, in spite of the insistent demands of various writers and grammarians and the

bold reforms suggested by Richelet (1680), e g *acord, receu, mélancolie* In the course of the century a large number of superfluous letters were eliminated, but spelling remained for the most part an academic question, and the practice of such cultured persons as Mme de Sévigné reveals an amazing irregularity, one may almost say a sovereign contempt for the minutiae of spelling The printer was generally left free to adopt the orthography he thought fit

167 The history of the diacritic signs shows the same hesitation The cedilla, apostrophe, tréma, hyphen, circumflex and grave accents were unknown in the Middle Ages, the acute accent was occasionally used to indicate the tonic stress, more frequently to show that two contiguous vowels are to be pronounced separately, or to distinguish *i* from contiguous *m, n, u, v*, sometimes it was placed over monosyllabic *a* (HABET), *u* (AUT), etc All of these signs began to be used by grammarians and printers in the sixteenth century The acute accent was first used by Robert Estienne in his *Dictionarium* (1530) to distinguish final *e* from *a* The cedilla (originally a small *z*) was borrowed from the Spanish by Geoffrey Tory (1530), but its use did not become general until much later *cz, ce* or *s* were commonly used in the sixteenth century (for modern *ç*) The grave accent was sparingly used (*à, là*), although theorists employed it for a variety of purposes (e g to denote *a*) The apostrophe (to indicate elision) was introduced by Geoffrey Tory (1529), the tréma (to indicate diæresis) and the circumflex accent (to indicate contraction) by Sylvius (1532), the hyphen by Montflory (1538), the apostrophe was frequently employed where Modern French preserves *e* (*un' heure*, etc , cf Extr No XVI, 21, 25, 28) The general adoption of these diacritic signs (and the rejection of many others) was long delayed, and throughout the sixteenth century both theory and practice show hesitation Thus Ronsard began by making a liberal use of accents and of the tréma, but later returned more or less to the practice of Robert Estienne The Dutch printers were largely responsible for the more extensive and regular

use of diacritic signs. Pierre Corneille was the first to advocate the use of the grave accent to indicate the open quality of *e* (*è*), but his example was not followed We print in Appendix A an extract from Molière and two Fables of La Fontaine which will serve to illustrate the usage of seventeenth-century printers It will be seen that the acute accent continued to be used sparingly in pre-tonic syllables, that the grave accent is almost confined to the particles *à*, *où*, *là*, and that *-és* still alternates with *-ez* It is significant that *s* before a consonant is generally preserved, but that a circumflex accent on the preceding vowel takes its place wherever the space thus saved will avoid running over into the next line The stroke over a vowel to mark the omission of a following *m* or *n* is also used for the same purpose The distinction between *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* is not regularly observed by printers, although it had been recognized as desirable and partly applied in the sixteenth century The tréma is often used to distinguish vocalic *u* from consonantal *u* (= *v*)

168 When the first edition of its Dictionary appeared (1694), the Academy had not yet become the court of appeal in matters orthographical Its spelling is decidedly archaic and continues the tradition of Estienne, only grudgingly admitting some of the reforms of Ronsard and the Dutch printers, with some of the simplifications which had taken place in general usage It favours the retention of superfluous letters which serve to distinguish homonyms, less consistently those which have a purely etymological significance Thus it suppresses *l* in such words as *au(l)tre*, but keeps it in *aulne*, *aulx*, *faulx*, *faulcher*, *pouls*, *poultre*, suppresses *c* in *poin(c)t*, *effe(c)t*, *droi(c)t*, *frui(c)t*, but keeps it in *contract*, *oinct*, *prefect*, keeps *t* before *s* (*enfants*, *innocents*) contrary to general usage, refuses to sanction the suppression of *s* before a consonant and the graphy *-és* for *-ez*, but adopts the circumflex accent to denote contractions of the type *seur—sûr*, and the distinction between *i* and *j*, *u* and *v*

169 The rationalistic grammarians and philosophers of the eighteenth century naturally reacted against the illogicali-

ties and contradictions of traditional orthography The private practice of even the most cultured persons still shows a contempt for regularity and consistency in spelling, but printed works show a gradual elimination of capricious and redundant graphies The Academy, guided by the progressive abbé d'Olivet, sanctions a number of important reforms in the third edition of its Dictionary (1740) Many superfluous letters are dropped (*de(b)voir*, *a(d)vocat*, *v(u)ider*, etc) and many double consonants, which had ceased to have a phonetic value, are simplified, *t* is suppressed between *n* and *s* (*enfans*, *innocens*), and *i* replaces *y*, except where the latter is equivalent to *ij* (*payer*) or is etymological Pre-consonantal *s* is replaced by the circumflex accent on the preceding vowel (by the acute on pre-tonic *e*), and the grave accent is allowed to share with the device of doubling the following consonant (*appelle*) the rôle of indicating open *e* (*gèle*) The fourth edition (1762) replaces *-ez* by *-és* in the plurals of substantives and participles, archaic *z* thus remains in the 2nd pers plural ending *-ez* and in a few words where it is etymologically unjustified *nez* (< NASUM), *chez* < *ch(i)es(e)* (< CASA)

170 In the nineteenth century spelling became standardized and personal caprice was eliminated not to spell in accord with established usage is interpreted as ignorance The Academy became the recognized authority It has maintained its conservative attitude, the most noteworthy decisions being those embodied in its sixth edition (1835) These include the restoration of *t* between *n* and *s* (*enfants*, *innocents*) except in *gens* (which no longer has a singular) and the adoption of *ai* for *oi* wherever it had become *ɛ* The latter 'reform' had been advocated by Nicolas Berain in his *Nouvelles Remarques sur la langue françoise* (1675) and taken up by Voltaire, who carried it through in his *Siècle de Louis XIV* The seventh edition (1878) brought a few minor changes of the type *rythme* for *rhythme*, the suppression of the hyphen between *très* and the following adjective or adverb, the substitution of *-ège* for *-ége* (*privilège*)

171 French orthography thus remains essentially tradi-

tional, very few graphies being strictly phonetic The same sound or group of sounds may be rendered in a variety of ways *o* by *eu*, *œu*, *ue*, *pē* by *pain*, *peins*, *peint*, *pin* One and the same symbol may serve to render a variety of sounds *g* = *g* in *grand*, = *ʒ* in *gens*, = *k* in *sang impur*, and has no value in *doigt*, *poing*, *bourg*, etc , while *gn* = *n'* in Popular words (*vigne*) and = *gn* in Learned words (*stagnant*), *u* = *u* in *une*, = *w* in *lui*, = *w* in *aquarelle*, = *ǫ* in *album*, and has no value in *qui*, *gui*, etc The feminine of *pəti* is *pətit*, yet the latter is distinguished from the former by adding an *e* to the purely orthographic *t* of the masculine form The majority of words show one or more letters which have no value the seven letters of *agneaux* render three sounds *an'o* To sum up, Modern French orthography presents on the one hand symbols which correspond to the pronunciation of the twelfth century, and on the other a host of letters introduced by the *praticiens* of the Middle French period The 'reforms' of the modern period have resulted in little more than a codifying and standardization of usage and the elimination of some of the more absurdly superfluous letters The campaign in favour of a simpler and more rational system seemed on the point of yielding results at the beginning of the present century France, with its highly organized and centralized educational system and the Academy as the recognized authority, appeared to present particularly favourable conditions for such a reform But the conservatism of the Academy and the forces of tradition and of those vested interests (printers and publishers) which oppose spelling reform in all countries, have hitherto proved too strong

Chapter V

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX

172 The present chapter deals with those linguistic devices (flexions, particles, word-order) which serve to present a concept in analytical form (cf § 16) They may be considered from two points of view (1) we may examine the means adopted by the language to render certain psychological categories, e g command, wish, possession, motion towards or from, place, present, past, future, (2) we may examine the meaning conveyed or function performed by the devices the language possesses, e g the various functions of the preposition *de*, or of the subjunctive Syntax is therefore not concerned merely with the grouping together of words to form sentences It is concerned with such expressions as *John's hat* no less than with *John strikes Peter*, with SCRIBO (as a rendering of the concept of 'the speaker in the act of writing') or with ITE (as a rendering of the command to go) no less than with CURRIT PUER or FILIA MATREM AMAT. The study of flexions thus comes within the scope of syntax, and the flexions are themselves based upon syntactic relations, e g the Latin accusative ending -M is a regularized mode of indicating the direct object

The history of the French language consists largely in the abandonment of flexions in favour of particles and word-order, in the passage from a synthetic to an analytic language This movement had begun in Vulgar Latin and is in part consequent upon phonetic changes, which progressively eliminated or reduced flexional distinctions Thus, to repair the havoc created by phonetic erosion in the declensions, the language had recourse, not to the creation of new case-endings, but to the utilization of particles Classical Latin had already made a liberal use of prepositions (DE, AB, AD) to denote relations which were not indicated clearly enough

by case-endings, or to make finer distinctions than could be made by case-endings alone Such uses were greatly extended by analogy, but the rapid acceleration of the movement must be attributed to new modes of thought, a demand for greater expressiveness and explicitness Thus CANTABIT gave place to CANTARE HABET (§ 281), not merely because CANTABIT and CANTAVIT had in pronunciation coalesced, but because CANTARE HABET renders the future in a more explicit, expressive way (cf Mod F *je vais chanter* for *je chanterai*) The ultimate result has been that in modern spoken French the place of the flexions has been largely taken by particles (pronouns and prepositions) sing *lə garsõ*, pl *le garsõ*, 1st sing *žə dǫn*, 2nd sing *tu dǫn*, but the two devices are often used side by side *lə žurnal*, *le žurno*, *žə dǫn*, *nu dǫnõ*

It is therefore obvious that the separate treatment of forms (Morphology) and use (Syntax) is artificial and that such a division is justified only by convenience We have endeavoured to effect a partial compromise by combining both in one chapter [1] For similar practical reasons we have included in the present chapter certain features (gender of substantives, formation of particles) which belong strictly speaking to Word-formation The space at our disposal does not allow of more than the barest outline of syntactic developments Certain syntactic devices (variations in stress, pitch, duration), which are so important in the spoken language, have had to be omitted almost entirely, and attention given primarily to literary usage, with only occasional references to popular speech The latter continues the natural tendencies of the language and is less susceptible to the claims of logic, but in cases of conflict between mere tradition and logic it may prefer to follow the latter, in a word, it is a more natural form of speech-activity, one in which, now feeling, now logic, now tradition, determine the form of utterance

[1] The Old French forms given in the paradigms are normally those of the early twelfth century

A *SUBSTANTIVES AND ADJECTIVES*

SUBSTANTIVES

173 The Classical Latin case system was early reduced in Vulgar Latin On the one hand phonetic changes (the elimination of *-m*, the confusion of unaccented *u* and *o*, *i* and *e*) obliterated the formal distinctions, and on the other the general analytical trend of the language led to the more extensive use of prepositions to indicate syntactic relations In Gaul the genitive, dative, ablative, and vocative disappeared in the Vulgar Latin period, leaving the nominative (which took over the functions of the vocative) and the accusative (which was sometimes used as a dative or genitive and was the case with which all prepositions were used) Old French presents a few survivals of the genitive plural (*gent paienor*, *tens ancienor* III, 1), but these forms had already become adjectival in function, if not in form The genitive singular survived in *lundi* (LUNAE DIEM), *mardi* (MARTIS DIEM), *mercredi* (MERCURI DIEM), *jeudi* (JOVIS DIEM), *vendredi* (VENERIS DIEM), *samedi* (*SAMBATI DIEM), the ablative singular in the adverbial suffix *-ment* (MENTE) (cf § 446)

174 The distribution of substantives as between the different declensions underwent a series of changes Those of the Fourth Declension were assimilated to the more numerous substantives of the Second (CANTUS, FRUCTUS, PORTUS) Those of the Fifth were absorbed by the First (*GLACIA, *FACIA, *RABIA for GLACIES, FACIES, RABIES), with the exception of a few which passed to the Third (FIDES, RES) Neuter substantives in -U(M), whether of the Second or Fourth, generally became masculine substantives of the Second (*FERRUS, *AURUS, *CASTELLUS, *CORNUS, also *CAPUM (> *chief*) for CAPUT, whence *CAPUS (> *chiés*)), neuter substantives of the Third likewise became masculine (PIPER, COR, FEL, NOMEN) But the neuter plural in -A was often used in a collective sense and treated as a feminine substantive of the First Declension FOLIA (> *feuille*), GAUDIA (> *joie*), LABRA (> *lèvre*) Occasionally the singular persists as a masculine substantive

alongside of such forms O F *feul* beside *feuille*, *cervel* (*cerveau*) beside *cervelle*, *grain* beside *graine* Neuter substantives in -s (TEMPUS) survive in Old French as indeclinable substantives (*tens*), other neuter substantives of the Third (FLUMEN, NOMEN) joined the *murs* Class in Old French

175 Analogical influences were responsible for a further reduction before the end of the Vulgar Latin period. The feminine plural in -AS came to be used for the nominative (-AE) as well, perhaps by analogy with the singular, where the nominative and accusative were identical (PORTA PORTA(M) *PORTAS PORTAS) The nominative plural of masculine substantives of the Third Declension was remodelled on the analogy of the Second, whence *PATRI for PATRES ≠MURI The nominative singular of those imparisyllabic substantives in which the accent remains on the same syllable throughout (MONS, MONTEM) was remodelled on the accusative, by analogy with parisyllabics (CANIS, CANEM), whence *MONTIS (> *monz*) Feminine substantives of the Third which have -s in the nominative singular tended to be assimilated to the more numerous substantives of the First, the nominative being re-modelled on the accusative (cf § 178)

OLD FRENCH DECLENSIONS

176 Old French maintains to a large extent the simplified flexional system of Vulgar Latin This is due in the main to the preservation of final *s* (cf § 101), which enabled the distinction between the nominative and accusative to be kept It would probably have disappeared, had it not been for the development of a literary tradition and the important rôle played by the schools of Gaul (cf § 182)

Old French substantives fall into the following classes.

177 MASCULINES

CLASS I

	Sing	Pl
Nom	*murs*	*mur*
Obl	*mur*	*murs*

This class includes

(*a*) Substantives in -US of the Second Declension (including V L accessions, § 174)

(*b*) Masculine parisyllabics with nom sing in -S (PANIS > *pains*), and re-modelled imparisyllabics, of the Third Declension (*MONTIS > *monz*, § 175)

(*c*) Neuter substantives in -U(M), -R (*chastels, cuers*)

CLASS II

	Sing	Pl.
Nom	*pedre*	*pedre*
Obl	*pedre*	*pedres*

This class includes.

(*a*) Substantives in -ER of the Second Declension (MAGISTER > *maistre*)

(*b*) Masculine parisyllabics of the Third Declension which did not have -S in the nom sing (PATER > *pedre*)

178 FEMININES

CLASS I

	Sing	Pl
Nom	*porte*	*portes*
Obl	*porte*	*portes*

This class comprises feminine substantives in -A of the First Declension (including V L accessions, § 174)

CLASS II

	Sing	Pl
Nom	*flor(s)*	*flors*
Obl	*flor*	*flors*

Here belong feminine substantives of the Third Declension (including those which passed from the Fifth to the Third in V L , § 174) This class differs from Feminine Class I in that the nom sing in -*s*, which is etymological in many substantives (LEX, FIDES, FINIS), is common in twelfth-century French (regular in Chrétien de Troyes) In the thirteenth

century such nominatives in *-s* are still found (x, 3), but they disappear in the fourteenth It is not clear whether *-s* here represents a survival of the Latin ending or is due to the influence of masculine substantives of the *murs—mur* type, where *s* is the distinctive sign of the nom sing If the former is the correct explanation, then the absence of the *s* in early Old French may be attributed to the influence of the more numerous feminine substantives of Class I, which make no distinction between the nominative and the oblique case

Imparisyllabics

179 The phonetic development of substantives which present a varying number of syllables in the nominative and accusative, and which had not been re-modelled (cf § 175), created a distinction which affects the stem no less than the ending Those in which the accent remained on the same syllable had mostly been re-modelled (*MONTIS for MONS), but in a few the original nominative persisted Feminine imparisyllabics are, by the elimination of the nominative, assimilated to Class II, with the exception of SOROR

With fixed accent

	Sing	Pl
Nom	*(h)om, cuens*	*(h)ome, conte*
Obl	*(h)ome, conte*	*(h)omes, contes*

With shifting accent

	Sing	Pl
Nom	*emperedre*	*emperedor*
Obl	*emperedor*	*emperedors*

Similarly *abes—abét, abét—abez, ber—baron, baron—barons, compaing—compaignon, compaignon—compaignons, enfes—enfant, enfant—enfanz, fel—felon, felon—felons, niés—nevot, nevot—nevoz, sendre—seignor, seignor—seignors, prestre—proveidre, proveidre—proveidres*, and one feminine *suer—soror, sorors—sorors*

A further series of masculine imparisyllabics in *-o, -onem* and *-us, -onem*, arose in Vulgar Latin with the Latinization of

Germanic names: *Hue* (HUGO)—*Huon* (HUGONEM), *Otes*—*Oton*, *Naimes*—*Naimon* The analogous formation of Vulgar Latin feminine substantives in -A, -ANEM may be due to the influence of such forms: *none*—*nonain*, *nonains*, *Eve*—*Evain*

INDECLINABLES

180 Parisyllabic substantives whose stem ends in *s* are thereby precluded from preserving the distinction between the nominative and accusative, and are in Old French indeclinable *cors*, *mes*, *pais*, *piz* (< PECTUS), *lens*, *voiz*

181 The distinctive feature of the Old French declension of substantives is the preservation of *-s*, and this was accentuated by the change which its presence sometimes brought about in the final consonant of the stem

s combined with *d*, *t*, *st*, to give *ts* (graphy *z*). *piez*—*piét*, *escuz*—*escut*, *oz* (HOSTES)—*ost* (HOSTEM)

s > *ts* (graphy *z*) under the influence of preceding *l'*, *n'* (which were depalatalized) or *n* (<MN, NN) *uelz* later *ieus*, *yeux*—*ueil* or *oeil*, *poinz*—*poing*, *danz* (DOMINUS)—*dan*, *anz*—*an*. *rns* > *rz* *jorz*—*jorn*.

Before *s* of the ending, *f*, *p*, *c* disappear *bues*—*buef*; *cols*, *cous*—*colp*, *coup*, *sas*—*sac*, while *l* (< *l* or *l'*) is vocalized to *u* *chevaus*—*cheval*

182 The flexional system outlined above began to disintegrate in the course of the twelfth century, and that it should have done so at such an early date may be due to the fact that it had been in some measure artificially maintained The first sign of disintegration is the uncertainty in the use of the flexional *-s* which distinguished the nom sing of most masculine substantives and was fitfully maintained in certain feminine substantives (cf § 178). Masculine substantives of Class II tend to be assimilated to Class I, often adding *s* in the nom sing. (*pedres*, *freres*, etc), and the same tendency may be observed in imparisyllabics (*compainz*, *hers*, *empereres*, etc) This uncertainty in the use of flexional *-s* was one of a number of factors which led early to a confusion

of the nominative and the oblique forms, and the elimination of the two-case system In fact, the Old French two-case system appears as a momentary stabilization of the process which tended naturally to the complete elimination of flexions and to the development of a purely analytic language Syntactic influences, therefore, combine with phonetic developments (e g the tendency of final *s* to become mute before a word beginning with a consonant) to make it increasingly difficult to maintain the cases The distinction of form gradually gives place to a distinction which depends entirely on the place of the words in the sentence and upon auxiliary devices, such as prepositions The impersonal *on* alone preserves the distinction of form, in that it can only be used as the subject of a sentence, whereas *homme* (like other accusatives) has become generalized The confusion of the nominative and the oblique case sometimes took the form of a substitution of the former for the latter (*filz, fils* for *fil*), but as the oblique form was far more frequently used and as flexional *s* tended in any case to become mute, it is as a rule the oblique (accusative) case that has survived

183 Old French nominative forms survive in a few words, generally terms in frequent use as subjects or vocatives, or preserved in fixed locutions. *ancêtre, chantre, copain* (for *compain*, nom of *compagnon*), *fils, gars* beside *garçon* (acc), *on* beside *homme* (acc.), *pâtre* beside Learned *pasteur, peintre, prêtre, queux, sire* (< *SEIOR) beside *sieur* (< *SEIOREM), proper names *Louis, Charles, Jacques, Georges* The nom *suer, sœur* (< SOROR), owing to its frequent use as a vocative, survived at the expense of *soror* (< SOROREM) and gave rise to a new plural *suers* (*sœurs*), *nonne* and *nonnain*, *pute* and *putain* have survived as independent substantives

184 While the two-case system was fairly well maintained in Central French throughout the twelfth century, it had broken down more or less completely in Anglo-Norman by 1200 In the course of the thirteenth century, Central French too tends more and more to eliminate the nominative, and by the end of the fourteenth the oblique form is general-

ized. Nominative forms continue to be used, but with little regard to the morphological value of flexional *-s*. This can be clearly seen from Villon's attempt to write a *Ballade en vieil françoys*

185 By the beginning of the fifteenth century the case distinction had completely disappeared, and there remained only the distinction between singular and plural. This too disappeared when final *s* became mute, and survives only in those substantives which show a modification of the final consonant before *-s* (*animal—animaux*) or in liaison with a word beginning with a vowel (cf § 135). In all other words the distinction of form is maintained only in spelling, and number can only be indicated in the spoken language by the form of the determinant (definite article, etc), or by the context The number of substantives which show a modification of the stem in the plural has been substantially reduced (*a*) by the re-modelling of the plural on the singular *bals* for O F *baux*, pl. of *bal*, *conseils* for O F *conseus*, pl of *conseil*, or, less frequently, the reverse *genou* for O F. *genoil*, pl. *genoux*, *chou* for O F *chol*, pl *choux*. (*b*) by the preservation or restoration in spelling of letters which had ceased to be sounded, this led in many cases to their being pronounced (cf § 110 ff) *coqs* for O F *cos*, *sacs* for O F *sas*, *chefs* for O F *ches*, *chiés* These two influences account for such double forms as *cieux—ciels*, *aieux—aieuls* (with distinction of meaning), they are still operative and are responsible for the tendency observable in present-day French to pronounce *bœufs* as *bǫf*, *œufs* as *ǫf* For the use of *x* as the sign of the plural, see § 157

ADJECTIVES

186 As in substantives, the nominative case and accusative case alone survived The case distinction disappeared regularly in the singular of fem *-a* forms and by analogy in the fem sing of other adjectives (cf. the nom. sing *grant* (GRANDIS), *fort* (FORTIS), etc) except imparisyllabics, and in the fem. pl of all adjectives The nom pl. of adjectives of the

Third Declension was re-modelled on the analogy of the BONUS type, whence *GRANDI for GRANDES The nom sing of imparisyllabics was re-modelled on the accusative (*VALENTIS for VALENS, O F *vaillanz*) The neuter survived only in the singular, being used exclusively as the attribute of an impersonal subject. It is in form indistinguishable from the masc acc Adjectives whose stem ends in *-s* naturally show no case distinction (*bas*, *cortes*, *franceis*, *gros*) Adjectives which in Latin had a common form for the masc and fem early showed a tendency to pass into the more numerous BONUS -A -UM class, and such forms as TRISTA, ACRA are attested from the Vulgar Latin period

187 Old French adjectives fall into the following classes

CLASS I *a*

	Sing			Pl	
	Masc	Fem	Neuter	Masc	Fem
Nom	*bons*	*bone*	*bon*	*bon*	*bones*
Obl	*bon*			*bons*	

To this class conform all Latin adjectives in -US -A -UM Those which developed a supporting *e* (cf § 29) naturally make no distinction between the masc acc. sing and the fem sing, between the masc acc pl. and the fem pl, e g *rade* (= RAPIDUM or RAPIDA(M))—*rades* (= RAPIDOS or RAPIDAS)

CLASS I *b*

	Sing.			Pl	
	Masc	Fem	Neuter	Masc	Fem
Nom.	*tendre*	*tendre*	*tendre*	*tendre*	*tendres*
Obl.	*tendre*			*tendres*	

To this class belong adjectives of three terminations in -ER (TENER TENERA TENERUM). They differ from those of Class I *a* only in presenting no *-s* in the masc nom sing

CLASS II

	Sing.			Pl	
	Masc	Fem	Neuter	Masc	Fem
Nom	*granz*	*grant*	*grant*	*grant*	*granz*
Obl.	*grant*			*granz*	

To this class belong adjectives which in Latin had a common form for the masc and fem (FORTIS, GRAVIS, MORTALIS), including re-modelled imparisyllabics of the Third Declension (*vaillanz*) The feature of this class is the absence of *-e* in the feminine, no distinction being made between the masc acc sing and the fem sing , between the masc acc pl and the fem pl As in fem substantives of Class II, an occasional *-s* is found in the fem nom sing (*granz, forz*), cf *laquex* XI, 53

IMPARISYLLABICS

	Sing			Pl	
	Masc	Fem	Neuter	Masc	Fem
Nom	*mieldre*	*mieldre*	*mielz*	*meillor*	*meillors*
Obl	*meillor*	*meillor*		*meillors*	*meillors*

This class consists exclusively of those synthetic Comparatives which had survived (cf § 192)

188 What has been said in the foregoing paragraphs on the hesitation in the use of flexional *-s* and on the breakdown of the two-case system applies with equal force to adjectives In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries adjectives of the *tendre* type (Class I *b*) frequently take *s* in the masc nom sing , as do also adjectives of the *grant* type (Class II) in the fem. nom. sing The nominative disappears about the end of the fourteenth century and with it the distinction between the neuter and masculine The distinction of number is also largely obliterated, as in substantives Phonetic changes brought about by *-s*, while it was still sounded, maintain such distinctions as *royal—royaux*, but re-modelling of the plural on the singular (or vice versa) and the influence of orthography have often obliterated hem *sec—secs* (O F. *ses*); *vif—vifs* (O F *vis*); *nouveau* (O F *nouvel*)*—nouveaux*, *beau* (O F *bel*)*—beaux*, *fou* (O F *fol*)*—fous*, *mou* (O F *mol*)*—moux*, *vieux* (O F *viel*)*—vieux*; the forms *nouvel*, etc being preserved in Modern French only if the following word begins with a vowel (cf. § 135) The plural of adjectives in *-al* appears regularly as *-aux*, but in recent borrowings it is often formed from the

singular by merely adding *s* (*finals, fatals*), sometimes there is hesitation between *-als* and what is instinctively felt to be the normal plural (*-aux*) *finaux* is rare, *nasaux* seems to have triumphed, sometimes the plural is simply avoided (*glacial*)

189 The majority of Old French adjectives showed feminine forms in *-e*, and even those which originally lacked *-e* (Class II) were gradually re-modelled on the BONUS (*bons*) type This process began in Vulgar Latin (cf § 186) and is reflected in *doux—douce* (O F *dolce* < *DULCIA), *fol—folle, mol—molle, cortois—cortoise* An increasing number of adjectives take *-e* in the Old French and Middle French periods *grande* (attested eleventh century), *forte, verte, tele, quele, brieve, grieve* (all attested twelfth century), adjectives in *-al, -el, -il, -eur*, and present participles used adjectivally *mortelle, generale, vile, gentille, vaillante, puissante* But the etymological forms without *-e* continue to be used throughout the fifteenth and to some extent in the sixteenth century, they survive to the present day in certain fossilized expressions and proper names *grand'mère, grand'rue* (where the apostrophe is wrongly introduced to indicate the supposed loss of *-e*), *Rochefort, Villefort*, and the adverbs *prudemment* (< PRUDENTE + MENTE), *constamment, diligemment, éloquemment, patiemment*, etc (cf § 446)

190 In a certain number of adjectives of the BONUS (*bons*) type, the masculine was re-modelled on the feminine, and they were thus brought into line with those adjectives (*rade*, § 187) which had from the beginning a supporting *e* in the masc and therefore did not distinguish masc and fem in the oblique case *large* (O F *larc*)—*large, triste* (O F *triz*)—*triste, roide* (O F. *roit*)—*roide, vide* (O F *vuit*)—*vide, chauve* (O F *chauf*)—*chauve* A determining factor was undoubtedly the excessive divergence in form between masc and fem , but the feminine was adopted also because it was the more sonorous form and in some cases found more support in the Latin cognate forms (LARGUS, TRISTIS, etc)

191. There was thus a whole series of adjectives which did not permit of a distinction of gender With the disappearance of final *e* this threatened to become true of all adjectives, but

the development of the final consonant had in the meantime created a further differentiation which allowed of a distinction of gender without the articulation of *ə* (*a*) The consonant had become final in the masc , but remained intervocal in the fem. down to the time when *ə* became mute, whence a twofold development in *vif—vive, sauf—sauve, neuf—neuve, actif—active, blanc—blanche, sec—sèche*; also, before the re-modelling of the masc , *larc—large*, etc (§ 190) O F *francesche* (FRANCISCA), *longe* (LONGA) were re-modelled on the masc. *franceis*, *lonc* (later *long*) (*b*) The disappearance from pronunciation of final consonants (§§ 125–31) coincided more or less with the disappearance of *ə*, the efforts made to maintain the latter, and its persistence in spelling, saved the preceding consonant from extinction and at the same time preserved the open quality of the tonic vowel Feminine *-e* is in Modern French a mere graphic device indicating that the preceding consonant is pronounced and, in certain cases, that the preceding vowel is open This function is shared to some extent by such devices as the doubling of the consonant and the use of accents sǫ (*sot*)—sǫt (*sotte*), bõ (*bon*)—bǫn (*bonne*), ba (*bas*)—ba s (*basse*), epę (*épais*)—epę s (*épaisse*), ru (*roux*)—rus (*rousse*), žãti (*gentil*)—žãti j (*gentille*), lõ (*long*)—lõ·g (*longue*), pəti (*petit*)—pətit (*petite*), grã (*grand*)—grã d (*grande*), dęrnje (*dernier*)—dęrnję r (*dernière*), sužę (*sujet*)—sužęt (*sujette*), kõplę (*complet*)—kõplęt (*complète*) (*c*) If the stem ends in a vowel or in a final consonant which is pronounced, the distinction of gender disappears completely *aigu—aigue, cruel—cruelle, pareil—pareille, meilleur—meilleure*

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

192 The Comparative and the Superlative were normally expressed in Classical Latin by means of synthetic forms (MAJOR, MAXIMUS, etc.) In Vulgar Latin the analytic forms consisting of the adverbs MAGIS or PLUS + adjective, which were rare in Classical Latin, are gradually extended, and *plus* + adj is the regular form in Old French. This development is in accord with the general analytic trend of the language.

A few synthetic forms of the Comparative have survived in Modern French *maire* (< MAJOR)—*majeur* (< MAJOREM), *moindre* for O F *mendre* (< MINOR)—*mineur* for O F *meneur* (< MINOREM), O F *mieldre* (< MELIOR)—*meilleur* (< MELIOREM), *mieux* O F *mielz* (< MELIUS), *pire* (< PEJOR)—O F. *pejor* (< PEJOREM), *plusieurs* O F *plusors, pluisors* (< L L PLURIORES influenced by PLUS) Others did not outlive the Middle Ages *graindre—graignor, joindre—joignor, joindre* survives in the form *gindre*. For the declension of these forms, see § 187 Survivals of the synthetic Superlative are O F *pesmes* (< PESSIMUS) and *pruismes* (< PROXIMUS) The Old French forms in *-ismes* (-ISSIMUS) are Learned formations (*altismes, fortismes, grandismes, saintismes*), as are also the modern forms in *-issime*, which are partly due to Italian influence (*illustrissime, révérendissime*)

GENDER OF SUBSTANTIVES

193 The distribution of French substantives between the masculine and feminine gender is in the main inherited from Latin For the fate of neuter substantives, cf § 174 But the tendency to identify a certain ending with one or other gender continued in Vulgar Latin and French We have already seen how neuter plurals in -A came to be treated as feminine substantives and how feminine substantives of other declensions tended to be assimilated to the -A declension (*GLACIA for GLACIES) Names of trees ending in -US passed from the fem to the masc. under the influence of the ending PINUS > *le pin* (It Sp pino), FRAXINUS > *le fresne* (It fiassino, Sp fresno), and with them ARBOR > *arbre* (It albero, Sp árbol), FLOS, FLORIS joined the feminine substantives in -IS (but It il fiore), SOREX and VERVEX (later BERBEX) were re-modelled on the analogy of RADIX RADĪCEM, etc and became fem *la souris, la brebis*

194 Similarly French *a* continues to be identified with the feminine gender The tendency to treat as feminine the sub-

stantives ending in *-e*[1] is particularly strong if they begin with a vowel, in which case the definite article, being elided, does not help to maintain the distinction In the sixteenth century this also applied to the indefinite article (*un* and *une* both being pronounced *ŏn* before a vowel); accordingly we find considerable hesitation as to the gender of such words in writers of that time Thus *affaire* (< *à faire*, cf. x, 24; xiv, 16), *limite* (LIMITEM m) have, after a period of hesitation in the sixteenth century, become fem.; *abîme*, *bronze*, *chanvre*, *panache* have remained masc in spite of similar hesitation This sometimes dates from the Middle Ages (*silence*, *navire*, *ordre*, *mérite*, *doute*, xii, 40)

195 But more often other factors combine with the presence of *-e* to induce hesitation and change Thus *armoire* (ARMARIUM) and *écritoire* (SCRIPTORIUM) have become fem under the influence of numerous fem. substantives in *-oire* The etymologizing tendency of sixteenth-century scholars and grammarians is responsible for considerable hesitation and some changes· *œuvre* (< OPERA), originally fem , was made masc to correspond with Latin neuter OPUS, but has survived as such only in certain technical meanings (*l'œuvre de V Hugo* 'his work considered as an artistic whole', *le gros-œuvre*, *le sous-œuvre*), *délices* (DELICIAS), associated with DELICIUM, was treated as masc in the sixteenth century, and this gender survives in the rarely used *le délice*

196 Other changes result from formal or semantic associations *alarme* (It all'arme) becomes fem in the seventeenth century ≠ *arme*, *mensonge* (< *MENTITIONICA derived from MENTITUS) becomes masc ≠ *songe*, *rancœur* (for *ranqueur*) shows change of both spelling and gender under the influence of *cœur* Semantic associations account for hesitation between masc and fem. in *après-midi* (usually masc) ≠ older *après-dinée*, *après-soupée*, *minuit* (O F *mie nuit*) was influenced by *midi* and, after hesitation in the sixteenth and seventeenth

[1] The tendency is so strong that certain feminine substantives have been provided with an unetymological *e* (*la cuillère*), and certain masculine substantives have been deprived of theirs (*pédant*)

centuries, became masc , *gens*, regularly fem in Old French (*gent* < GENTEM), has become masc. owing to its use in the plural as the equivalent of '*hommes*', the fem surviving in set expressions (*vieilles gens, petites gens*) (cf § 170), hesitation has led to the formulation of subtle rules at various periods, the latest finding being contained in the Ministerial Decree of 1901, according to which *gens* may be treated uniformly as a fem substantive

197. Change of gender sometimes results from change of function. *rien* (< REM) as a fem substantive did not survive the Old French period, as a negative particle it is logically neuter and is therefore treated as masc (*Rien n'est arrivé*), *personne* used as an indefinite negative pronoun is similarly masc (*Personne n'est arrivé*), though formerly sometimes feminine Used as a substantive it is fem , but syllepsis is common in the plural (cf *gens*) and was commended by Vaugelas (*Faire rire des personnes qui ne rient que quand ils veulent*, Mol *Impr de V* sc 1), *chose* is masc when used with a neuter meaning in combination with *quelque* or *autre* (*Quelque chose est arrivé* but *Quelques choses sont arrivées*) Cf the neuter use of *chose* in familiar language to denote a person (*Le Petit Chose*—title of a novel by A Daudet)

198 As the above examples will show, a variety of factors may combine to induce hesitation or change An interesting case is that of substantives in *-eur* Abstract substantives in -OR became fem in Vulgar Latin, probably under the influence of other abstract substantives, which are generally fem Their number was increased by new formations in *-eur* (*froideur, laideur*, etc) The scholars of the Renaissance attempted to restore the original gender, and their efforts found support in the confusion of *un* and *une* before a vowel (*un erreur*, cf § 194) and in the existence of common masc. substantives in *-eur heur* for *e-ur* (< AUGURIUM) and its compounds *bonheur, malheur* (cf § 68); *pleur, labeur* (verbal substantives from *pleurer, labourer*) But after a period of hesitation the Old French gender prevailed, except in *humeur* (m), *déshonneur* (m) and *honneur* (sporadically treated as masc

from the fourteenth century) were perhaps influenced by *bonheur*, (*bon*)*heur*, (*mal*)*heur*, *labeur* remain masc, although fluctuating in the Middle Ages

199 Later borrowings from Latin show the same treatment of gender as Popular words, but hesitation was formerly very common, owing partly to the popular tendency to give them the gender corresponding with their ending or form (*cimeterre*, *épisode*, *exercice*), partly to the lack of a traditional gender in the case of derivatives (*automobile*, *armistice*). *Automobile* has been exposed to a variety of influences it appears first as an adjective about 1875 (*une voiture automobile*), whence, by ellipsis, *une automobile*, which has to contend with *un automobile* (≠*domicile*, *ustensile*, etc) Borrowings from foreign languages generally keep their original gender, but exceptions are common as the result of formal or semantic associations *ombrelle* (It ombrello), *romance* (Sp romance) owe their fem gender to association with substantives in *-elle* *-ance*; *populace* (It populaccio) has become fem after prolonged hesitation

200 Some apparent changes of gender result from ellipsis: *un* (*chien de*) *Terre-neuve*, *le* (*vin de*) *Champagne*, *le* (*bateau à*) *vapeur*, *une* (*automobile de*) *trente chevaux*, *un* (*fiacre de*) *remise*, *une* (*horloge à*) *pendule* beside *le pendule* (PENDULUM) 'pendulum' On the analogy of *la* (*fête de*) *Saint Jean*, etc, *la Noel* is found beside *le Noel* < (DIURNUM) NATALEM A number of changes of gender are unexplained *lierre* (m), with agglutinated article, for *lierre* (< HEDERA), *été* (< AETATEM) ≠*hiver*?, *art* (< ARTEM) both masc and fem in O F as in Sp and Prov; *dent* (< DENTEM) both masc and fem in O F; *mer* (< MARE) ≠*terre*?, *paroi* (< PAR(I)ETEM)

201 Of the many hesitations that have not persisted one may further cite: (*a*) in Latin DIES,[1] FRONS, PULVIS, PERDIX, (*b*) dating from the Middle Ages *lange*, *mystère*, *office*, (*c*) frequent in the sixteenth century *âge*, *cartilage*, *image*, *tige*, and as late as the seventeenth *caprice*, *gage*, *mélange*, *orage*, *ouvrage*, *squelette* The following still fluctuate: *après-midi*, *humour*,

[1] O F *di* (m), I, 4, II, 12 Survives in *midi*, *lundi*, etc

automne, *délice* (masc sing , fem pl) In other cases hesitation persists in an attenuated form with differentiation of meaning *amour* (< AMOREM m) is now masc , after prolonged hesitation dating from Middle French, but in the plural it is still sometimes fem. in poetic language; *espace* (< SPATIUM) now masc , but former hesitation has led to the preservation of *une espace* as a printing term, *foudre* (< FULGUR) has become fem. owing to final *e*, but *le foudre* is still permissible in the figurative sense *un foudre de guerre*, *période* (PERIODUS f) is masc only in the sense of 'degree' or 'stage', *voile* (< VELA) hesitated under the influence of VELUM, the hesitation being utilized to distinguish *la voile* 'sail' from *le voile* 'veil'.

202 In other cases the so-called double gender results from the phonetic and orthographic identity of two separate words (*a*) Cognate words *le crêpe* (< CRISPUM) 'crape'—*la crêpe* (verbal subst from *crêper*) 'pancake', *le critique* 'critic'—*la critique* 'criticism', *le faune* 'faun'—*la faune* (der from *faune ≠flore*) 'fauna', *le manche* (< *MANICUM from MANUS) 'handle'—*la manche* (< MANICA) 'sleeve', *le mémoire* (*MEMORIUM) 'memoir'—*la mémoire* (MEMORIA) 'memory', *le mode* (late borr from MODUS) 'method' 'mood'—*la mode* (early borr from MODUS) 'fashion'; *le poste* (It posto) 'station' 'office'—*la poste* (< POSITA) 'mail', *le garde*, *le guide*, *un aide*, *un enseigne*, *un manœuvre*, *un trompette* are derived from *la garde*, etc with change of gender in accord with meaning 'he who guards', etc (cf § 548) (*b*) Words which have become homophonous through phonetic evolution and are not cognate *le coche* (< ?) 'passage-boat', *le coche* (Germ kutsche) 'coach'—*la coche* (der from *cochon*) 'sow', *la coche* (< ?) 'notch'; *le faux* (< FALSUM)—*la faux* (< FALCEM); *le livre* (LIBER) 'book'—*la livre* (< LIBRA) 'pound', *le mousse* (It. mozzo) 'cabin-boy'—*la mousse* (Germ mos) 'moss'; *le page* (It -Gr paggio)—*la page* (PAGINA) 'page of book', *le poêle* (PALLIUM) 'canopy'—*la poêle* (< PATELLA) 'frying-pan', *le somme* (< SOMNUM) 'nap'—*la somme* (< SUMMA) 'sum', *la somme* (< SAGMA) 'burden', *le tour* (verbal subst from *tourner*) 'turn'—*la tour* (< TURREM) 'tower', *le vague* (VAGUS)

'void'—*la vague* (Scand vág-r) 'wave', *le vase* (VAS) 'vase'—*la vase* (Dutch wase) 'silt'

DIFFERENTIATION OF FORM TO INDICATE SEX[1]

203 Substantives which denote persons or the higher animals sometimes show a differentiation of form to indicate sex. Those denoting persons are often adjectives used substantivally and therefore present a regular feminine form *chrétien—chrétienne, jumeau* (< GEMELLUM)*—jumelle* (< GEMELLA), *cousin—cousine, ami—amie, époux* (< SPONSUM)*—épouse, paysan—paysanne, voisin—voisine*. Many others follow the analogy of adjectives *baronne, lionne, chienne* (for older *lice* or *cagne*), *géante*, formed on *baron*, etc., and even *vaurienne, fainéante*. Sometimes it is the masc. that is analogical *veuve* alone existed in Old French; *veuf* is a modern creation on the analogy of *neuf—neuve*.

204 Substantives in *-eur* present feminines of different types. (*a*) *-eure* is rare in Modern French, e.g. *prieure*, an analogical formation which has replaced older *prioresse, prieuresse, prieuse*. (*b*) *-euse* (the result of a confusion of *-eur* with *-eux*, cf. § 128) is common in forms derived from verbs. *liseur—liseuse, menteur—menteuse, blanchisseur—blanchisseuse*. (*c*) *-eresse* is found in *pécheresse* which is a re-modelling of O.F. *pecheriz* (< PECCATRICEM), the unusual *-iz* being replaced by *-esse*, and in *enchanteresse* = O.F. *enchantere* (< INCANTATOR) + *-esse*. (*d*) *-trice* was borrowed from Latin -TRIX, -TRICEM, and is regularly used to form the fem. of Learned words in *-eur*: *lecteur—lectrice, acteur—actrice*.

205 The ending *-esse* (also formerly written *-esce* and *-ece*) is derived from L.L. -ISSA (borrowed from Greek *-ισσα*) which was widely used: ABBATISSA > *abbesse*, DIACONISSA > *diaconnesse*. In French, *-esse* was used to form the feminine of many substantives: *comte—comtesse, dieu—déesse*, later *hôte—hôtesse, docteur—doctoresse, âne—ânesse*. Many feminines in *-esse* did not survive the sixteenth century (*clerc—clergesse*), *maîtresse*

[1] This section belongs strictly speaking to Chapter VI, but is introduced here for convenience

and *traîtresse* have triumphed, although formerly *maître* and *traître* served as both masc and fem.

206 A derivative or cognate form is often used to supply a missing gender: *canard* is derived from the fem *cane* under the influence of O F *malart*, *cochon* has given a derivative *coche*, *dindon* is a derivative of *dinde*, NEPOS, NEPOTEM and NEPTIS, NEPTEM could be used in Latin for either sex, but NEPOTEM (> *neveu*) was restricted in Vulgar Latin to the masc. and a fem NEPTIA (> *nièce*) created on NEPTEM, *compagne* is the fem. corresponding to *compaing* (O F nom of *compagnon*), *gouvernante*, *servante* (fem of pres. part) supply the fem. to *gouverneur*, *serviteur*, *mule* is the fem of O F *mul* (< MULUM), since replaced by its derivative *mulet* Borrowed feminine forms are *empereur—impératrice*, *chanteur—cantatrice* (It cantatrice) beside the popular *chanteuse*, *ambassadeur—ambassadrice* (It. ambasciadrice), *Hébreu—Hébraïque* (Lat -Gr HEBRAICUS) In other cases the distinction of sex is traditionally indicated by different words, which may or may not be cognate: *fils—fille*, *roi—reine*, but *frère—sœur*, *cheval—jument*

207 Some substantives denoting persons possess no feminine (*écrivain*, *médecin*, *professeur*, *peintre*, *sculpteur*) This deficiency is made good, as required, by prefixing the word *femme* (*une femme auteur*, etc) just as in Middle French the lack of a masc of *veuve* was supplied by *un homme veuve* But such devices are felt to be cumbrous, and various analogical feminines have been created, none of which has however been officially recognized (*autrice*, eighteenth century, *une auteur*, eighteenth century, and the monstrous Anglicism, *authoresse*, nineteenth century), *avocate* bids fair to receive this recognition The same difficulty in the case of animals is overcome by adding *femelle*, the article remaining masc (*un éléphant femelle*), the lack of a masc being made good in a similar way (*une baleine mâle*) Some words vary in gender without varying in form (*élève*, *enfant*) Others show a contradiction between grammatical gender and sex (*la sentinelle*, *la vedette*, and metonymically used *connaissance*, *dupe*, *recrue*, *victime*, *bas-bleu*).

SYNTAX OF THE SUBSTANTIVE

208 The tendency to substitute a prepositional phrase for flexions persists through Vulgar Latin into French, but the oblique case continued in Old French to fulfil certain functions other than those of the direct object and the prepositional case It was often used as an indirect object (I, 8, 11; II, 11; III, 27, IV, 49, 100) and also fulfilled the function of the Latin ablative in absolute constructions (I, 8; *Paien chevalchent, . halbers vestuz, Rol* 710) With verbs of motion it is used to denote place, direction or manner (*Tant chevalchierent e veies e chemins, Rol* 405, *Son petit pas s'en tornet chancelant, Rol* 2227), cf Mod F *Je demeure place Saint Michel*; *aller son chemin, marcher grand train* Time, duration, measure, price, continue to be denoted by the oblique case, but Modern French usage often requires a preposition where Old French dispensed with it *Il est parti le lendemain, La représentation dure trois heures, Il a vendu cette maison cent mille francs*, but *Il n'a cessé de pleuvoir pendant trois jours*

209 The oblique case of proper names or of substantives denoting persons or personified objects was often used to denote possession (II, 3, VI, 137, X, 70; XI, 64, 68) This construction gradually gives way to the construction with *de* in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but it survives in fixed locutions (*le feu Saint Antoine, la Fête-Dieu, hôtel-Dieu*) and place names (*La Ferté-Milon, Pont-l'Évêque*) and in the conjunction of Christian name and family name (*Jean Latour*) An imitation of such survivals is to be observed in names of streets, institutions, firms (*place Gambetta, faubourg Montmartre, gare Saint-Lazare, l'affaire Dreyfus, style Louis XV*) This type of juxtaposition is much favoured in commercial language (*les pneus Michelin*, etc) and has been extended to substantives other than those denoting persons (*timbre-poste*), the qualifying substantive being sometimes hardly distinguishable from a substantive used adjectivally (*un chapeau paille*; cf *une robe marron*)

210 For cases of syllepsis in substantives which are singular in form but plural (or collective) in meaning, see § 380

A special point of interest is the number of the substantive in such expressions as *profils de femme*. In marked contrast with English, French shows a decided preference for the singular In spoken French the question hardly arises, as the plural is generally indistinguishable from the singular The rule is therefore a literary one and is consonant with the gradual rationalization of the French language the qualifying substantive becomes generic, and therefore logic demands that it shall be singular (*peaux de bœuf*); when the substantive is itself qualified this naturally does not apply (*des peaux de bœufs d'Auvergne*), other exceptions are probably due to assimilation (*des articles de revues, des peaux d'animaux*) Assimilation also accounts for such constructions as *trente francs de perdus*, cf the assimilation of gender in *une diable de maison, une drôle d'idée, une goutte de répandue*

SYNTAX OF THE ADJECTIVE

211 Adjectives, whether used attributively or predicatively, agree in case, gender and number with the substantive they qualify With O F *se clamer* 'to be called', *se faire* 'to become', *se tenir à (pour)* 'to consider oneself' the nominative is regular (IV, 1), but as the active meaning of these verbs had not been entirely obliterated, the accusative is sometimes found; cf. the Modern French hesitation between *elle a l'air bonne* and *elle a l'air bon*

212 The survival of the neuter accounts for a number of apparent exceptions, for it was not only used predicatively with a neuter subject (*Ço est bel*) but adverbially in such expressions as *vendre chier* Many of these have survived and others have been created by analogy (*parler bas, chanter faux, tenir bon, risquer gros, parler net, tomber juste, peser lourd, voir clair, marcher droit, tomber dru, tenir ferme, taper dur, sentir mauvais*) When such expressions are used passively and the adjective stands before the participle, there is in Old French a tendency to make it agree (*Con chiere achetee est vaillance*, Tobler, *Verm Beitr.* I, p 75 ff), cf also X, 96. A similar hesitation in the

case of adjectives used adverbially with a following adjective existed in Old French, and the agreement is preserved in such expressions as *fenêtres grandes ouvertes, fleurs fraîches écloses*, *tout* regularly agreed with the adjective in O F (*set anz toz pleins, espees totes nues*), but in the seventeenth century Vaugelas and the Academy, interpreting *tout* as an adverb, succeeded after some resistance in imposing the invariability of *tout*, while admitting *toute, toutes* before a feminine adjective beginning with a consonant (*toute charmante, toutes charmantes*) on the ground of euphony Similarly Vaugelas' ruling (which now affects only spelling) has been accepted for *demi* and *nu* (*aller nu pieds, nu-tête*, but *pieds nus, tête nue, une demi-heure*, but *une heure et demie* Cf also *tenir haut la tête*, but *tenir la tête haute, avoir de l'argent plein ses poches*, but *avoir ses poches pleines d'argent, ci-joint la facture*, but *la facture ci-jointe* The invariability of the adjective in such locutions as *Nous étions seul à seul, À quoi bon la guerre?* is likewise due to their adverbial force. The curious use of the feminine for a neuter idea in such expressions as *Vous en verrez de belles, en dire de bonnes* is probably due to ellipsis (of *choses* or *nouvelles?*) Various explanations have been given of *Il l'a échappé belle* (ellipsis of *balle?*); *belle* might here be explained as a mere spelling for the old neuter *bel* used adverbially

213 The modern rule that an adjective qualifying several substantives stands in the plural, and in the masculine if they are of different genders, dates from Malherbe. Before him the same liberty obtained as in Latin, viz to make the adjective agree with the nearest (xvi, 5) (§ 381); but exceptions to the modern rule are still numerous (*certificat de bonne vie et mœurs, des sentiments et des croyances religieuses*)

Comparative and superlative

214 Of the synthetic forms, *meilleur, moindre, pire* (together with the adverbs *mieux, moins, pis*) alone survive as genuine comparatives in Mod.F, but *plus mauvais, plus petit, plus mal* have almost eliminated *pire, moindre, pis* from the spoken language, *moindre* being used only in the abstract sense In

popular speech *plus* is sometimes prefixed to such synthetic forms (*plus pire, plus mieux*)

215 The comparative was also used in O F and Mid.F as a relative superlative (cf Latin VALIDIOR MANUUM 'the stronger of the two hands') *Tolent lor veies e les chemins plus granz, Rol* 2464, *Et luy devions donner le nom du plaisir plus favorable, plus doux et naturel,* Mont I, xx This use has survived in Mod F only after a possessive pronoun or the partitive *de* (*C'est tout ce qu'il y a de plus beau*). Elsewhere the article is now compulsory, as is also its repetition if the adjective follows the substantive

216. The absolute superlative, for which Classical Latin used the same form as for the relative superlative, is rendered in French by prefixing to the adjective an adverb of intensity (*bien, fort,* etc.), O F also used *par, moult, trop* (in the sense of *très Trop nos est loinz Charles, Rol* 1100) The choice of the adverb is often determined by passing fashion and a striving for effect, and the weakening through constant use leads to its replacement (*il est très riche—il est extrêmement riche—il est horriblement riche*)

217 If the second term of the comparison is a pronoun or substantive, O F generally introduces it by *de* (IV, 51, *Meillor vassal n'out en la cort de lui, Rol* 775) This construction, which is a continuation of the Latin ablative construction, is preserved in Mod F only before a numeral (*plus de dix francs*) In all other cases *que* (= Lat QUAM) was used, and, as a negative is implied, an expletive *ne* was prefixed to the verb, but *ne* has never been compulsory and has practically disappeared from popular speech (cf § 455) Old French often introduced *être* or *faire* as a 'verbum vicarium' before the second term of the comparison (*Plus est isnels que nen est uns falcons, Rol* 1572), and this is still common in the seventeenth century. If the second term consists of two substantives, they were formerly linked by *ne* (seventeenth-century *ni*) (*Plus est isnels qued esperviers n'aronde, Rol* 1535), in Mod F by *et* or *ou*.

Place of the attributive adjective

218. The position of the adjective was freer in O F, and even in the sixteenth century (XV, 33, XVI, 86), than in Mod F This is most clearly illustrated by adjectives of colour (*la Ruge Mer, blanches mains*), which in Mod F always follow, unless used figuratively Yet even in Mod.F. the place of the adjective is anything but fixed One can at most say that the usual place is after the substantive, but that a number of common adjectives (often monosyllabic) generally precede (*bon, gros, jeune, long, haut, mauvais*, etc) The place of the adjective is often determined by considerations of euphony and style it is contrary to normal rhythm to place a long adjective before a short substantive The differentiation of meaning according to position, which certain Mod F adjectives present, is likewise a gradual development and is due, partly to the tendency of adj + subst to become more or less fused and often to develop a special meaning (*sage femme, petit pain, un vrai conte* 'a pure fairy-tale'), partly to the tendency to place the adjective after the substantive if it preserves its full qualifying force (*une histoire vraie* as opposed to *fictive*, etc) Consequently, if the adjective is used as a mere epithet or figuratively, it precedes, if used in its literal, full sense, it follows This usage is most clearly exemplified in *ancien, brave, dernier, franc, grand, méchant, pauvre, petit, sage, triste, vrai*, for *certain, différent, même, propre, second, seul*, this differentiation did not yet exist in the seventeenth century.

NUMERALS

Cardinals

219 The majority of the cardinal numerals are derived directly from Latin Certain V L changes are to be noted: *cinq* < CINQUE for QUINQUE by dissimilation, *quatre* < QUATTOR for QUATTUOR with loss of *w* after two consonants; *dix-sept*, O F *dis et set* < DECEM ET SEPTEM for SEPTEMDECIM, and similarly *dix-huit* and *dix-neuf*, *vingt* < VENTI < VIGINTI (*i* for *e*

under the influence of final *i*, cf. § 37), *trente* < TR(I)ENTA < TRIGINTA, *quarante* < QUADRA(I)NTA < QUADRAGINTA, *cinquante* < CINQUA(I)NTA < QUINQUAGINTA, *soixante* < SEXA(I)NTA < SEXAGINTA The distinction between MILLE sing (> *mil*) and MILIA pl (> *mille* or *milie*) was lost sight of very early, and down to the sixteenth century they were used indiscriminately, but in accordance with its etymology, *mille* as a numeral never takes the sign of the plural in Mod F, rarely in O F The restriction of *mil* to dates is in force from the seventeenth century *Million* (for O F *mil milie* or *dis feis cent milie*) dates from the fourteenth century and is modelled on It milione AMBO survived in O F *ambes* (f) and (in combination with DUO) masc *andui—an(s)dous*, fem *ambesdous*, cf Mod F. *ambesas* 'double ace'

220. The vigesimal system (sometimes attributed to Celtic influence, so far as French is concerned) was in common use in the Middle Ages *deus vins*, *trois vins*, etc up to *dis huit vins*; cf English counting by scores Of these forms only *quatre-vingts* and *quatre-vingt-dix* have persisted (superseding *(h)uitante*, *nonante*, which are now confined to patois) *Soixante-dix* (for *trois vins et dis*) has similarly ousted *septante*

221 *Un* was declined in O F like an adjective of Class I (*bons*) *Deux* was also inflected in O F Nom *doi* (< *DUI)—Obl *dous*, *deus* (< DUOS), Fem *does* (< DUAS) *Vingt* and *cent* regularly take the sign of the plural when multiplied (*quatre vingts*, *deux cents*), but sometimes remained uninflected in O F The modern rule prescribing *vingt* and *cent* if another number follows (*quatre-vingt-un*) is a recent artificial creation, since annulled by Ministerial Decree (1901) The use of *et* to link component elements (*dis et set*), which was general in O F, was finally abandoned in the sixteenth century (cf XVI, 58), except between *vingt*, *trente*, *quarante*, *cinquante* and a following *un*, and in *soixante et onze* After numerals ending in *un* (*vingt et un*), the substantive normally stood in the singular in O F, but after a period of hesitation extending into the seventeenth century the plural became the rule

Ordinals

222 None of the Modern French ordinals are derived by uninterrupted tradition from Latin PRIMUM[1] was replaced by PRIMARIUM > *premier*, SECUNDUM was displaced by ALTERUM > *altre*, *autre* (XI, 49), which finally gives way to *second* (a twelfth-century borrowing in the sixteenth century, TERTIUS > *tierz*, *tiers* (uninflected in O F), TERTIA > *tierce* (XI, 49) survive in Mod F only in set expressions (*tiers état*) or technical language (*tierce majeure*, etc), QUARTUM > *quart* (XI, 49) and QUINTUM > *quint* survive in the same way (*la fièvre quarte*, *Charles-Quint*), DECIMUM > *dime* > *disme* ≠ *dis*, survives only as a substantive (*la dîme*) Such etymological forms as these were gradually replaced by new creations formed by adding to the cardinal numerals the suffix *-ième*, which appears in O F as *-i(s)me* (cf XII, 79) and *-ie(s)me* *Second* still maintains a precarious existence and can no longer be used in compounds (*vingt-deuxième*), *premier* similarly gives place to *unième* in compounds (*vingt et unième*) The suffix *-ain* (<-ANUM) was also used in O F to form ordinals (*premerain*, *quatorzain*, etc) Some of these forms have survived as terms of prosody (*quatrain*) or in the feminine as collectives (*huitaine*, *dizaine*, *douzaine*, etc)

223 The extensive use of cardinals for ordinals in Mod F (*le trois janvier*, *Louis Quatorze*, *chapitre six*) must be attributed to the habit of reading them as written (*III*, etc) it is significant that the modern usage begins with the development of printing, although it does not become established until the end of the seventeenth century *Premier*, owing to its frequent use, was not so affected (*le premier janvier*)

[1] O F *prin*, *prime* (< PRIMUM -A) has survived in a few set forms *printemps* (PRIMUM TEMPUS), the fem sometimes appearing for the masc (*de prime abord*, *primesautier* for earlier *prinsautier*)

B *ARTICLES AND PRONOUNS*

THE DEFINITE ARTICLE

224 The definite article continues the Latin demonstrative pronoun ILLE The O F forms are

		Masc	Fem
Sing	nom	*li*	*la*
	obl	*lo* > *le*	*la*
Pl	nom	*li*	*les*
	obl	*les*	*les*

The development of the definite article consists in a progressive weakening and extension of ILLE Used proclitically with substantives, it lost the first syllable (which was slurred over) and in the oblique cases shows the characteristic weakening of unaccented vowels The feminine oblique *les* was carried into the nom , the masc nom sing *li* goes back to V L ILLĪ (cf § 238) The oblique forms alone have persisted in Mod F. For elision and enclisis of the definite article, see §§ 134, 139

225 Even in C L the demonstrative force of ILLE is not always maintained, and in V L it rapidly weakens Late Latin texts show a growing tendency to use ILLE (also IPSE) as an individualizing particle and reflect the general tendency of popular speech to achieve greater explicitness In Mod F the demonstrative force survives only in set expressions like *de la sorte* (cf XVII, 60), *du jour*, but in O F it was still clearly felt (III, 7) and the definite article still 'defined' or individualized sharply the substantive which it preceded Hence the much more restricted use made of it in the earlier periods of the language and the possibility of fine distinctions such as Modern French cannot achieve In general it can be said that O F uses the definite article whenever the substantive is to be singled out or individualized Thus, abstract substantives, proper names, names of nationality in the plural (*Franceis, Sarrazins*), geographical names, substantives which

denote a unique object (*ciel, terre*), seasons, points of time (*printemps, matin, dimanche*) did not take an article in O F. With concrete substantives there was a certain amount of hesitation, the article being dispensed with if they were used in a generic sense, and reserved for the purpose of singling out a particular object or a definite number of objects Accordingly, if the substantive is already individualized by some other means (dem pron , etc), the article is not used For similar reasons the article was generally omitted (1) before the direct object if it more or less merged with the verb to form a compound (*dire verité, avoir faim*), Mod F presents many such cases (*tenir tête, livrer bataille, fermer boutique*, etc), (2) if several substantives linked by *et* form a unit (*ciel et terre*), (3) after prepositions, if the substantive is not to be individualized (*aler a court, estre en maison*, cf Mod F *à pied, à cheval, par terre, sans pitié*), such expressions tend to become purely adverbial and therefore to be preserved intact (cf *amont, aval*, etc); (4) in comparisons, where again the substantive is not individualized (*blanc comme neige*)

226 The extension of the definite article in the Mid F period was greatly favoured by the breakdown of the O F declension and the elimination of final *s* this conferred upon the article the rôle hitherto played by the flexional endings (*l'homme—les hommes, le chant—les chants, la fleur—les fleurs*) Analogy also played its part, and gradually the article came to be little more than an adjunct of the substantive, losing entirely its demonstrative force and retaining in a limited degree its individualizing function Generally in Mod F its omission implies that the substantive is no longer purely substantival and has combined with the verb to form what is practically a compound verb (*avoir raison* 'to be right'), or with a preposition to form what is in effect an adverbial expression (*avec courage* 'courageously', *à tort* 'wrongly', *par terre, sous bois*) This accounts for the hesitation in the case of substantives used predicatively or in apposition (compare *Il est français* with *C'est un Français*) Similar considerations account for the adoption of the article in *la France*, but its

omission in *en France*, and the hesitation (with a very slight differentiation) between *l'histoire de France* and *l'histoire de la France* For the use of the article to form the superlative, see § 215

THE INDEFINITE ARTICLE

227 The indefinite article developed from UNUS, which was occasionally used in C L in the sense of QUIDAM and is already used as an indefinite article in post-Classical writers In French it appears as early as the *Sequence of Saint Eulalia* (II, 22) and is inflected like *bons* Its extension is much slower than that of the definite article. It is rare in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and its function, that of singling out one unspecified object of a series, is not yet clearly defined Like the definite article, it is dispensed with in O F unless the person or thing is to be singled out from others of the same class Accordingly, it was not used in negative phrases, interrogative and conditional sentences, between verb and complement if closely linked (*donner réponse = répondre*, *rendre service = servir*), after prepositions, before substantives used predicatively, and in comparisons (XIII, 8)

228 The gradual extension of the indefinite article in Mid F is facilitated by the fact that it often corresponds to the plural of the partitive article (*un homme*, sing of *des hommes*) Before *tel*, *autre*, *même*, *si*, and often before a qualifying adjective, it is omitted, even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where Mod F requires it (XIV, 9, 11, 34)

229 The plural *un—uns*, *unes* was used in O F and as late as the sixteenth century before substantives denoting pairs of objects or persons (*unes grandes narines*, *unes botes* XIII, 36; *uns esperons* XIII, 38) It was also used before plural substantives which have no singular or have a different meaning in the singular, or are used collectively (*uns grans dens*, cf *Auc et Nic* sect 24)

THE PARTITIVE ARTICLE

230 The early history of the partitive article is a much debated question (cf Sneyders de Vogel, pp 17–23, whose conclusions we have in the main adopted) To express the partitive idea (i e an unspecified portion of a whole) Latin employed the substantive alone, but in Late Latin three renderings are possible after a verb (1) the accusative (EDERE PANEM), (2) the genitive (EDERE PANIS), (3) DE + the ablative (EDERE DE PANE) With the elimination of the genitive (§ 173), (2) naturally merged with (3), which was fairly common in L L but rare in C L , and with (1), which was preferred Accordingly, we find in O F occasionally *manger de pain* (only one example in the *Roland*) beside regular *manger pain* (XI, 42) To specify the whole from which the unspecified portion is taken, Latin could naturally employ such determinatives as pronominal adjectives (*Surge, sede et comede de venatura mea*, Gen xxvii, 19) Similarly we find in O F from the earliest texts the type *manger de bon pain*, and also *manger du pain* meaning 'to eat an unspecified quantity, not of bread in general, but of *the* bread (specified by the definite article)' (*Por son seignor deit hom perdre e del quir e del peil* = literally 'some of *the* skin and some of *the* hair (of one's own person)', *Rol* 1012) But with the weakening of the definite article (§ 225) and its consequent use in a generic sense (*le pain* = bread in general), the phrase *manger du pain* came to denote, as it does in Mod F , 'to eat an unspecified portion of bread' without any specification as to which bread, it therefore became equivalent to the common and traditional *manger pain* The triumph of *manger du pain* over *manger pain* is due to the same causes as the extension of the definite article, but the struggle was more protracted The partitive (*du, de la, des*) was still optional as late as the sixteenth century (XIV, 4, 48, 54), and it is sometimes omitted in the seventeenth century where modern usage would require it The type *manger pain* survives in Mod F only in proverbs and set expressions (*avoir pitié, tirer profit*)

231 From what has been said we should expect the old construction *manger de bon pain* to persist, but with the extension of the definite article the alternative *manger du bon pain* developed The latter was common in the sixteenth century (XVI, 72) and continues to find favour in popular speech and familiar conversation, in spite of the opposition of all the grammarians of the seventeenth century The official rule that *de* is to be used if the adjective precedes, *du, de la, des* if the adjective follows, was formulated by Vaugelas, but it was not faithfully observed by seventeenth-century writers and is subject to certain restrictions in Mod F literary usage In general one can say that *du, de la, des* are used if the adjective is more or less fused with the substantive, whether this is indicated by a hyphen (*des petites-filles*) or not (*des petites filles, du menu bois, de la bonne foi*)

232 The use of *de* after substantives or adverbs of quantity (*une foule, beaucoup, assez*) falls in a different category Here we have merely the Romance equivalent of the Latin Genitive of the Whole (*magna pars hominum*), and therefore the partitive is not required (*assez de pain*, not *assez de du pain*) The analogy of such constructions (*assez de pain*) may have favoured the extension of the partitive article, according to L Foulet (*op cit*) it was the point of departure of the partitive article It is to be noted that throughout the Middle Ages adverbs of quantity hesitate between adverbial and adjectival functions (*assez pain* is common beside *assez de pain*) If the substantive denotes a specified object or series of objects, the definite article is introduced *J'ai trouvé beaucoup des livres que vous m'aviez indiqués*, similarly *la plupart des hommes* (i e *hommes* conceived of as a calculable number of men), but *beaucoup d'hommes* (generic), *la foule des passants*, but *une foule de passants* *Bien* is originally an adverb of intensity and continues to be followed by *du, de la, des*, although it has become purely quantitative (*bien des hommes*)

233 The negative particles *pas* and *point* were originally substantives denoting quantity (*pas d'hommes, point d'hommes*, cf § 452), and therefore on all fours with such expressions

of quantity as *assez d'hommes*, *une foule d'hommes* Apparent exceptions, such as Voltaire's *Toujours du plaisir n'est pas du plaisir*, arise from the fact that the substantive does not depend on *pas*, in the sentence quoted, *du plaisir* is a genuine partitive, the predicate of a negative clause *n'est pas* .

234 Before a substantive used as subject or predicate the partitive article was rare in O F After a preposition it is found sporadically in Mid F and is far from universal in Mod F (*avec bonté*) It is usually dispensed with if the prepositional phrase is purely adverbial, e g *avec patience* 'patiently', but *avec de la patience* 'by means of or with the help of patience'

235 From the point of view of meaning it is to be noted that the plural *des* generally denotes multiplicity and is the plural of the indefinite article (*des hommes*, pl of *un homme*), but sometimes it denotes quantity (*des affaires*)

PRONOUNS

236 The C L flexional system was much more fully maintained in the case of pronouns, the dative being in part preserved (*cui*, *li*, *lui*) and the genitive with change of function (*lor*) The neuter survived to a large extent (*el*, *mien*, *içó*) As the degree of stress with which the pronoun is articulated (§ 145) varies with its syntactic function, it shows a twofold development and presents both tonic and atonic forms

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

First and second person

237 Ego was reduced in V L to eo (I, 5), which became *jo* and was weakened to *je* when unaccented, the regular tonic form is *gié* (later *je*) Owing to their frequent use with a following verb, atonic nos and vos replaced tonic nos and vos, which would normally have given **nos* and **vos*

O F DECLENSION

		Accented		Unaccented	
Sing	nom	*gié* > *je*	*tu*	*jo* > *je*	*tu*
	obl	*mei* > *moi*	*tei* > *toi*	*me*	*te*
Pl	nom	*nos* > *nous*	*vos* > *vous*	*nos* > *nous*	*vos* > *vous*
	obl	*nos* > *nous*	*vos* > *vous*	*nos* > *nous*	*vos* > *vous*

The unaccented forms persist in Mod F

The accented nominative forms *je*, *tu* give place to the accusative forms *moi*, *toi* (*c'est moi*, *c'est toi*) before the end of the O F period *je*, *tu* are always unaccented in Mod F

THIRD PERSON

238 For the third person the demonstrative pronoun ILLE (which, used in another function, gave the definite article) was adopted Used as a personal pronoun it presented in V L a number of deviations from the regular phonetic development The first syllable of the oblique forms, which were in connected speech closely linked with the verb or a preceding preposition, was slurred and disappeared The masc nom sing ILLE and the dative ILLI became ILLĪ and ILLUI respectively under the influence of the interrogative forms QUĪ, CUI, whence *il* (cf § 37) and *lui* respectively, the latter being also used as the tonic form of the accusative (cf *cui*), the dative ILLĪ persisted when unaccented, giving *li* (m and f) The O F feminine accented form *li* (dial *lei*, II, 13) presupposes a V L ILLAEI, which is explained as a contamination of ILLAE (dat) + ILLUI, like *lui* it came to be also used as the tonic form of the accusative The dative plural ILLIS (m and f) gave place to the genitive plural (ILLORUM > *lor*) (with change of function) The neuter ILLUD gave way to analogical ILLUM, whence accented nom sing *el* and unaccented acc sing *lo* > *le* The fem acc pl (ILLAS) was, as in substantives, used for both nominative and accusative The O F atonic forms present a further series of irregularities, which result in part from their varying syntactic relations The nominative forms are supplied by

the tonic *il, ele, el, il, eles*, which gradually become unaccented through proclitic use with the following verb, *lo, los, las* are weakened to *le, les*, but *la* persists.

O F DECLENSION

		Accented		Unaccented	
		Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem
Sing	nom	*il*	*ele*	*il*	*ele*
	dat	*lui*	*li*	*li*	*li*
	acc	*lui*	*li*	*lo* > *le*	*la*
Pl	nom	*il*	*eles*	*il*	*eles*
	dat	*lor* > *leur*	*lor* > *leur*	*lor* > *lour*	*lor* > *lour*
	acc	*els* > *eus*	*eles*	*les*	*les*

Neuter Accented nom sing *el*—Unaccented acc sing *lo* > *le*

Reflexive the Latin SE persists as accented *sei* > *soi* and as unaccented *se*

239 Of the accented forms only *lui, eus, ele, eles* survive, but with restricted functions (see below) The persistence of the nom *ele* is due to the influence of the pl *eles* The accented datives *lui, leur* had from the end of the thirteenth century begun to supplant the unaccented datives *li, lour*, and eventually displace them The masc pl *il* gave way in Mid F. to analogical *ils*, which (owing to its proclitic use) tends to be reduced to *i* before a consonant, to *iz* before a vowel, this pronunciation was regular in the sixteenth century and still characterizes popular and familiar speech (*s'il vous plaît*) The neuter *el*, which appeared in O F as the subject of an impersonal verb, early gave place to *il*, but neuter *le* survives, though indistinguishable in form from the masc.

240 In C L the personal pronoun was used as subject of the verb only if required for emphasis, the verbal ending sufficing to indicate person But in accord with the analytical tendency of V.L the pronoun subject came to be used for greater clearness The gradual breakdown of flexional distinctions makes its use necessary: it ceases to be used for

emphasis and becomes an adjunct of the verb O F occupies a position midway between the two extremes represented by C L and Mod F, and the use of the pronoun subject is often governed by other considerations than clearness, e g it is used if the sentence would otherwise begin with an unaccented word In Mid F the pronoun is more and more commonly expressed, but Latin influence reversed the movement for a time in the sixteenth century (XIV, 7, 13, 32, 34, 41, 53, XVI, 23) Since then its omission before a verb in the indicative or subjunctive is to be seen only in archaic expressions and fixed locutions (*Fais ce que dois*) The neuter pronoun subject *il* (for older *el*), the introduction of which before impersonal verbs is due to analogy, continued to be used sparingly even in the sixteenth century (XIV, 89) when it often has the value of modern *cela* (*Mais puis qu'il ne se peut, apprenons à le soutenir de pied ferme*, Mont I, 20) Such expressions as *tant y a que, peu s'en faut, mieux vaut* are relics of O F usage In Mod F, neuter *il* has given way in many cases to *ce*, particularly before the verb *être* (§ 258)

241 The pleonastic use of the personal pronoun subject (*Mais sdvies hom il deit faire message, Rol* 294, XII, 108) which was formerly common (*Un noble s'il vit chez lui dans sa province, il vit libre*, La Bruyère, Haase, 6, 1) is now confined to popular speech and to questions (cf also *Moi, je crois*) In O F the personal pronoun could also be used with the imperative (*E! reis celestes, tu nos i fai venir!* Alexis, 335)

242 The use of the polite plural *vous* for *tu* dates from the V L period and may be due to the analogy of *nous* for *je* In O F the modern usage is already foreshadowed, but there is much confusion (cf XII, 59), particularly in Anglo-Norman, where such phrases as *Va t'en d'ici, tost levez!* and *tu faistes* are common Under the influence of Latin, the sixteenth century tended to favour *tu*, but seventeenth-century texts show an exaggeration of the opposite tendency

243 The use of tonic and atonic forms was in O F governed by the degree of emphasis which it was desired to give to the pronoun The tonic form could be used as direct

or indirect object (VI, 87, VII *a*, 35), it was normal before the infinitive and the gerund (cf *soi-disant*) and is found in this position as late as the sixteenth century The elimination of the tonic stress in favour of group-stress (§ 145 ff) caused the accented form to give way in such cases to the unaccented, it also favoured the adoption of the accented form after an imperative, where the pronoun is the last word of the group (*dites-moi, aidez-moi*), cf § 147 In Mod F the tonic form is used after a preposition, after *c'est*, and in apposition with the pronoun subject if it is desired to emphasize the latter (*Moi, je pars*)

244 The use of *à* + tonic pronoun as an accented dative is in Mod F possible only if the atonic form precedes (*il me semble, à moi*), but with certain verbs the unaccented dative is regularly expressed by *à* + tonic pronoun, and not by the atonic form (*Il songe à moi*) The number of such verbs was much larger in the earlier periods of the language, and the prepositional construction was optional, e g. O F could say *il me semble, il moi semble*, or *il semble à moi*, cf VII *b*, 22, X, 46, XIV, 45 The indirect object is expressed by *à* + tonic pronoun if the direct object is a personal pronoun of the first or second person (*Je me fie à vous, Il m'a présenté à elle*), and in O F it could precede the verb (*Mieudre de moi a vos m'envoie*)

245 Neuter *le* was commonly used in O F to refer to a following clause (*Henris le sot que mult granz oz venoit sor lui*, Villehardouin, 322), this use was still common in the seventeenth century (*Il faut le dire que ce crime n'est que trop commun*, Bossuet, Haase, 6, 3) Where Mod F employs neuter *le* to refer to a preceding substantive without article or to a predicative adjective (*Êtes-vous mère de cet enfant? Je le suis*), the older practice, of which there are examples in the eighteenth century, was to make the pronoun agree (*Je la suis*)

246 The omission of the pronoun object if accompanied by another pronoun in the dative, which is general in the Middle Ages (XII, 71), was condemned by Vaugelas and other grammarians of the seventeenth century and is now met with only in popular speech

247 The adverbs of place *en* (<INDE) and *y* (<IBI) gradually acquired a pronominal value and came to be used as the equivalents of *de*+pron. and *à*+pron respectively They also continue to be used as adverbs, *en* in particular is frequently used to establish a loose connection with what precedes or with some unexpressed thought in the mind of the speaker or listener (*J'en ai assez*, *Ne m'en veuillez pas!*) As a pronoun, *en* may be used as a possessive genitive (*J'ai vu ce pays, j'en connais les beautés*, cf also XVI, 46), as a partitive genitive (*J'en ai vu des centaines*), often omitted even in the seventeenth century, as the object of a verb requiring *de* (*Je m'en souviens*), just as *y* is used with a verb requiring *à* (*Songez-y*) Whereas *en* and *y* were formerly used of persons or things, Mod F generally avoids their use when referring to persons, except *en* as a partitive (*J'en ai vu des centaines*) The latter use of *en* has been much extended in Mod F, as has also the adverbial use of *en*

248 Contrary to C L usage, the French reflexive pronoun can only refer to the subject of the clause in which it occurs, the unaccented form (*se*) being used with reflexive verbs, the accented (*soi*) being used after a preposition or predicatively In O F, *soi* was used in the same way as other tonic personal pronoun forms (XIII, 6, 97, cf a survival in *soi-disant*), but from the twelfth century (IV, 16) it had to compete with *lui*, *eux*, *elle*, *elles* The struggle between *soi* and *lui* continues to the disadvantage of *soi*, which is now used to refer to things (masc sing), but to a personal subject only if the latter is indefinite (*chacun pour soi*), in the seventeenth century it was still possible to say *Il porte de l'argent sur soi*, cf XIV, 22, 100

249 The pronoun object, whether tonic or atonic, could in O F precede or follow the verb, but the atonic form now always precedes In the positive imperative it still follows, but has become accented (§ 147) If two pronoun objects precede, the direct object was formerly always placed first (*Je le vous donne*, cf XII, 24, 70), partly because it was usually joined enclitically to the preceding word (*Jel vous donne*) This

order is still preserved after the imperative (*Donnez-le-moi*), but elsewhere the modern usage, which places the indirect first unless it be *lui*, *leur*, was established about the end of the sixteenth century after a period of hesitation The old practice of placing *en* before *y* (XII, 6, XIII, 78, *Conte de tes cognoissans combien il en est mort avant ton aage, plus qu'il n'en y a qui l'ayent atteint*, Mont I, 20) disappeared in the seventeenth century. When the pronoun is the object of a verb + infinitive, it was formerly placed before the verb even when logically the object of the infinitive (IV, 90, 101, XII, 108, XVI, 78, XVIII*b*, 13, *Vous l'est-on venu dire?* Mol *Mis* 560) This is still the rule before *voir*, *entendre*, *envoyer*, *sentir*, *laisser*, or *faire*, + infinitive, elsewhere Mod F requires the pronoun before the infinitive if it is the object of the infinitive and not of the modal verb

POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

250 Analogy modified profoundly the development of the Latin possessive pronouns The accented forms show a re-modelling of MEUS, TUUS, SUUS on the acc sing forms *mien* < MEUM, *tuen* < TUUM, *suen* < SUUM, and follow the adjectival declension Class I The unaccented forms show no such re-modelling and can be explained by assuming that their proclitic use caused what stress there was to fall on the second element, the first vowel disappearing, **mos*, **tos*, **sos*, **mas*, **tas*, **sas* were then further weakened to *mes*, *tes*, *ses* (cf § 21)

		Accented		Unaccented	
		Masc	Fem	Masc	Fem
Sing	nom	*miens*, *tuens*, *suens*		*mes*, *tes*, *ses*	
			meie, *toe*, *soe*		*ma*, *ta*, *sa*
	obl	*mien*, *tuen*, *suen*		*mon*, *ton*, *son*	
Pl	nom	*mien*, *tuen*, *suen*		*mi*, *ti*, *si*	
			meies, *toes*, *soes*		*mes*, *tes*, *ses*
	obl	*miens*, *tuens*, *suens*		*mes*, *tes*, *ses*	

251 From about the end of the thirteenth century, the strong forms of the second and third persons were re-modelled on the analogy of the first, whence *tien*, *sien* Similarly, by analogy with *moie*, the forms *toie* and *soie* had developed beside *toe*, *soe*, but all the forms of the feminine gave way to new analogical forms *mienne*, *tienne*, *sienne*, before the end of the fourteenth century Alongside of the masc sing *mes*, *tes*, *ses*, the forms *mis*, *tis*, *sis* also occur in O F and are due to the influence of the nom pl *mi*, *ti*, *si*. All the nom. forms disappear at the same time as the nominative of substantives and adjectives (*mes* has survived in *messire*)

The *a* of *ma*, *ta*, *sa* was regularly elided in O F before a word beginning with a vowel, but in the thirteenth century *mon*, *ton*, *son* begin to be used, whence Mod F *mon amie*, etc. Mod F *ma mie* results from a false interpretation of O F *m'amie*

252 Under the influence of NOSTER, C L VESTER was replaced by VOSTER in V L The genitive plural ILLORUM came to serve as the corresponding possessive of the third person, whence O F accented *lor* (later *leur*), unaccented *lour*.

Accented

		Masc	Fem
Sing	nom	*nostre, vostre, lor*	
			nostre, vostre, lor
	obl	*nostre, vostre, lor*	
Pl	nom	*nostre, vostre, lor*	
			nostres, vostres, lor
	obl	*nostres, vostres, lor*	

Unaccented

		Masc	Fem.
Sing	nom	*nostre, vostre, lour*	
			nostre, vostre, lour
	obl	*nostre, vostre, lour*	
Pl	nom	*nostre, vostre, lour*	
			noz, voz, lour
	obl.	*noz, voz, lour*	

253 The contracted forms *noz*, *voz* are sometimes used in O F for accented *nostres*, *vostres*, and conversely *nostres*, *vostres* for *noz*, *voz* (Mod F *nos*, *vos*) Unaccented *nostre*, *vostre* give Mod F *nǫtre*, *vǫtre*. Unaccented *lour* was supplanted by *lor* (later *leur*), which in conformity with its etymology remained uninflected to the end of the thirteenth century, when it takes *s* in the plural, but its origin is still reflected in the fact that it shows no distinction of gender

254. The unaccented forms of the possessive pronouns were generally used as adjectives only, but the accented forms, which are now almost exclusively substantival and accompanied by the definite article, could formerly be used attributively (I, 3, IV, 37, X, 76, II, 29, *Paien escrident* · '*Aïde nos, Mahom, Li nostre deu, vengiez nos de Charlon*', *Rol* 1906; cf Mod F *un mien ami*) and predicatively ('*Dient il voir que la garde de l'abaie est moie*?—*Certes, sire, fis je, non est, ains est moie*', Joinville, Sudre, p 62) In the latter case Mod F generally employs *à* with a tonic personal pronoun (*Ce livre est à moi*) If it is desired to give emphasis to the possessive adjective, *à* + personal pronoun is in Mod F added after the substantive (*son livre à lui, à elle*) The use of *de* + personal pronoun to denote possession was formerly common, but is from the seventeenth century reserved for cases where clearness absolutely demands it

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

255 The weakening and partial loss of the C L demonstrative pronouns[1] led to the development in V L of forms in which the demonstrative was reinforced by prefixing the adverb ECCE Old French preserves these agglutinated forms in the case of ILLE, ISTE, HOC

[1] ILLE survives in the form of the definite article (§ 224) and the personal pronoun of the third person (§ 238) HOC survives in *av(u)ec* (< AB HOC) and as an affirmative particle with the personal pronoun *o je*, *o nos*, etc , *oïl* (< HOC ILLE) > *ouï* > *oui* (= wi) Cf also *ist* (< ISTUM) I, 4, *o* (< HOC) I, 6, II, 11, 18, 20

		Masc		Fem		Neuter	
Sing	nom	*ıcıl*	*ıcıst*	*ıcele*	*ıceste*	*ıcel*	*ıcest*
	obl	*ıcelui*	*ıcestui*	*iceli*	*icesti*		
		ıcel	*ıcest*	*ıcele*	*ıceste*	*ıcel*	*ıcest*
Pl	nom	*ıcıl*	*ıcıst*	*ıceles*	*icestes* > *icez*		
	obl	*icels* > *iceus*	*icez*	*ıceles*	*icestes* > *icez*		

ECCE HOC > *iço*

256 Beside the forms *ıcil*, *ıcist*, etc the abbreviated forms *cil*, *cist*, etc appear from the beginning of the O F period and prevail (*I*)*cestes* early gave way to the contracted form (*i*)*cez* (but cf XIII, 83), and the neuter *cel*, *cest* to *ço* which, when unaccented, appears as *ce* Whence, by regular phonetic development and certain orthographic adjustments *celui*, *ceux*, *cet* and (with loss of final *t* before consonant) *ce*, *ces*, *celle*, *celles*, *cette*, *ces*, and the neuter *ce* The nominative forms have regularly disappeared (although *cil* is found as late as the sixteenth century), and *celui* (originally a dative) has ousted *cel*, but *cest*, *cele*, *ceste* have triumphed over *cestui* (XIV, 75), *celi*, *cesti* (XI, 64) respectively

(*I*)*cist* and (*i*)*cil* originally denoted what is close at hand and what is remote respectively, and both could be used either adjectivally or substantivally (cf XII, 73, 76) But even in O F there is a tendency to reserve *cil* for substantival, *cist* for adjectival function, a distinction which was definitely accepted in the seventeenth century

257 The demonstrative force of the pronouns (forms used substantivally, cf XIV, 111) gradually weakened, and in order to restore it recourse was had to the adverbs *ci* and *là*, unless the pronoun merely serves as the antecedent of a relative clause or is qualified by a genitive indicating possession (*ceux de mon frère*) or provenance (*Quels vins? Ceux de France*) *Celui* can no longer be separated from the relative (as it was before the time of Vaugelas), except by a partitive genitive (*Ceux de vos amis qui*) The adjectives (*ce*, *cet*, *cette*, *ces*) maintain their demonstrative force more fully, but here too *ci* (formerly often *ici* XIV, 49) and *là* are added after the substantive to

distinguish what is near and distant The weakening of the demonstrative force of these adjectives (particularly in O F) allows of their being used as practically the equivalent of an article (cf Mod F. *ce* 10 *mars*)

258 The neuter *ce* early lost its demonstrative force and, as subject of a verb, became equivalent to the neuter personal pronoun *il* (for older *el*), which it tends more and more to displace Even before an adjective followed by a clause or by *de* + inf (*Il est facile de faire cela*), where the rules of grammar require *il est*, modern popular speech shows a preference for *c'est* Cf also popular *c'est trois heures* for *il est trois heures* In O F *ce* could be used as the subject of any verb, but in Mod F this use is restricted to *être* and a few phrases like *ce me semble, ce peut être*

259 *C'est* serves to recall or to anticipate the logical subject in such sentences as *Vous avez raison, c'est évident; C'est un bon garçon que Jean* The pleonastic use of *ce* to recall the subject and thus emphasize it (*La raison de sa faillite, c'est son manque de courage*) was rare in O F and was less common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than at the present day (but cf XVI, 1, 18, 83) Vaugelas recommended its use only if the subject was widely separated from the verb For *c'est* before a pronoun or substantive O F occasionally shows the Latin use of a demonstrative pronoun agreeing with the predicate (*Cist n'est pas home, ainz est diable*, Gui de Warewic, 8444) Mod F *c'est moi, c'est toi* for O F *ce suis je, c'es tu* is due to the analogy of *c'est lui* In Mod F *c'est* is often employed to throw into relief the word or words which it is desired to stress (*C'est vous qui avez raison*)

260 *Ce* was formerly much more widely used as an object (III, 56); as the object of a verb it is now used only if it is the antecedent of a relative pronoun (*Je comprends ce que vous dites*), *ce faisant, pour ce faire* and the like are archaic survivals After a preposition (XIII, 28) it likewise survives in such archaic expressions as *sur ce*, and between a preposition and *que* *parce que, en ce que, à ce que, de ce que* (but cf *pour que, sans que*)

261 To restore the demonstrative value of *ce*, the adverbs *ci* and *là* were added in Mid F and eventually became fused with it, whence *ceci* and *cela*, originally denoting what is near and remote respectively While *ceci* has kept the original force, *cela* has been weakened until it is but little stronger than *ce* and often replaces it In popular speech the contracted form *ça* is extensively used and takes the place not only of neuter *ce* and *il*, but of personal pronouns (*Ça ne veut pas écouter ses père et mère*)

RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

262 The general popular tendency to reduce the rôle of the relative pronoun to that of a mere copulative in what is virtually a paratactic structure (see below) led to a simplification of forms in V L , and ultimately in O F to the extensive use of a single form *que* for all purposes At the same time the relative and interrogative forms coalesced to a large extent Thus in V L , QUAE, QUAM were replaced by QUI, QUEM, QUOD by the interrogative form QUID, QUIS by the relative QUI, CUI persisted as the accented oblique form of the relative and as the oblique form of the interrogative

	Masc and Fem		Neuter	
	Relative	Interrogative	Accented	Unaccented
Nom	*qui*	*qui*	*quei* > *quoi*	*que*
Obl	*cui*, *qui* *que*	*cui*, *qui*		

Cui was used as a dative or genitive, as the tonic form of the accusative, and after prepositions, but the phonetic confusion with *qui* was complete by the twelfth century, although the spelling *cui* is found as late as the fifteenth (cf x, 15)

263 The relative was frequently used in O F without an antecedent A survival of this use is to be seen in such constructions as *Amenez qui vous voudrez*, *Je ne sais qui vous voulez dire* It is in O F often the equivalent of modern *quiconque* (IV, 86; XII, 100, cf *Qui vivra verra*, *Qui m'aime me suive*, also

XVII, 23), and this absolute use led to the development of functions such as are served in Mod F by *si l'on* (XIII, 20; cf Mod F *Tout vient à point qui sait attendre*) or, when repeated, by *les uns les autres* (*Ne faisons autre chose qu'apprendre à parler, qui Grec, qui Latin, qui Ebreu*, Du Bellay, *Defence*)

264 *Qui* preceded by a preposition was often used in O.F. when referring to things, and this usage is still found in the seventeenth century (cf XVI, 50), in spite of the formulation of the modern rule which restricts prep + *qui* to persons, and prescribes prep + *lequel* or *quoi* and *dont* for things It is to be noted that the use of prep + *qui* referring to persons is declining in Mod F

265 The neuter *que* as a nominative gradually gave place to the masc *qui*, but *que* is found as late as the sixteenth century (*Là son precepteur repetoit ce que avoit esté leu*, Rab 1, 23), and has survived in *advienne que pourra* *Ce* is now required as an antecedent not only if the relative clause itself is substantival (*Ce que vous dites est vrai*), but if the antecedent of the relative is a sentence (*Il se moque de moi, ce que je ne puis souffrir*) In the latter case *ce* (*ço*) is sometimes used in O F, but it is not compulsory even in the seventeenth century (cf. also XVI, 4) In certain elliptic uses the neuter *que* is reduced almost to the function of a relative adverb *que je sache* (= *à ce que je sache*) 'so far as I know', *Je n'ai que faire de vos dons* 'I would have none of your gifts', O F *faire que sages* (= *faire ce que ferait un homme sage*) 'to act wisely, prudently', *C'est un bon garçon que* (= *qu'est*) *Jean*, *Qu'est-ce que* (= *qu'est*) *le rhumatisme*?, cf XIV, 13

266 The relative adverb *que*, the origin of which is obscure, but which is in the main a continuation of QUID—QUOD, was very extensively used in O F (III, 11, etc) and continues to be so employed in popular speech. It serves to indicate relation pure and simple, and constitutes a slight modification of a purely paratactic structure *Je vous présente l'ami que je lui ai parlé de vous* is a popular rendering of a still more rudimentary *Je vous présente l'ami, je lui ai parlé de vous* In the literary language and in correct speech the relative adverb

is still used in expressions of time (*la dernière fois que je vous ai vu*), but even here it is losing ground (*le jour où il partit* for common seventeenth-century *le jour qu'il partit*) It also occurs in phrases such as *C'est à vous que je parle*, beside which we find *C'est à vous à qui je parle* (≠*C'est vous à qui je parle*); cf *Et que c'est à sa table à qui l'on rend visite*, Mol *Mis* 626

267 *Quoi* as a relative pronoun has lost considerable ground since the O F period (cf XII, 48, XVI, 54) and is practically confined to such expressions as *Il n'y a pas de quoi*, *Voici de quoi il s'agit*, and cases where the antecedent is a whole clause or an indefinite substantive, such as *rien*, *quelque chose* (*Il n'y a rien à quoi je songe plus souvent*) But in quite recent times *quoi* has reappeared in literary usage as a substitute for *lequel* when referring to things (*la chose à quoi je pensais*). In O F and even later it could refer to persons as well as things (*Li dus de Bourgoigne de quoi je vous ai parlé*, Joinville, 559, *Les Esseniens de quoy parle Pline*, Mont II, 8 Examples cited by Sudre, p 79)

268 *Dont* (< DE UNDE) was originally an adverb of place and is widely employed as such down to the seventeenth century, when its use was restricted to antecedents used figuratively (*la maison dont il est sorti*) As a pronoun it took over many of the functions of the preposition *de* + rel pron and of *cui* used as a genitive Its extension was rapid in the Middle Ages, but since the seventeenth century it has lost ground (cf *Messieurs les Maréchaux, dont j'ai commandement*, Mol *Mis* 751) Among other restrictions one may mention the rule which forbids the use of *dont* when the substantive on which it depends is preceded by a preposition (*l'homme dont j'ai parlé au fils* is not tolerated). If the antecedent is a whole clause, *ce* is now required (cf. *Oui, mais il veut avoir trop d'esprit, dont j'enrage*, Mol. *Mis* 634)

269 *Où* (< UBI), originally an adverb of place which also came to be used as an adverb of time, shows the same development as *dont* and was used down to the eighteenth century as the equivalent of *à, dans, chez, sur* + rel. pron referring to persons as well as things (XVII, 34, *Il a trois ou*

quatre fils où son cœur s'intéresse bien tendrement, Sév, III, 73, Sudre, p 83) It is still used in the combinations *d'où* and *par où* if the antecedent is a whole clause (*D'où je conclus*, *Par où il nous fait savoir*)

270 Interrogative *qui* was used down to the seventeenth century to denote things as well as persons, but in Mod.F. a periphrasis is employed to distinguish things (*qu'est-ce qui*) from persons (*qui est-ce qui* or *qui*) Interrogative neuter *que*, in addition to its use as a direct object (*Que fait-il?*), is still used as the logical subject of impersonal verbs (*Que vous en semble?*, cf XII, 105) and as the predicate of *être*, *devenir* (*Que sont-ils? Que deviennent-ils?*), *qu'est-ce que* (and the popular *qu'est-ce que c'est que*) for *que* is due to the analogy of *qu'est-ce qui* Like the Latin neuter pronoun, interrogative *que* is sometimes used adverbially as the equivalent of *à quoi*, *pour quoi*, *combien*, particularly in exclamations and rhetorical questions (*Que je suis malheureux! Que n'obéissez-vous?*)

271 Interrogative *quoi*, being the accented form, is used after prepositions, but like the accented personal pronoun (§ 243) was often used as a direct object, particularly before the infinitive and the gerund, such uses are rare in Mod.F (cf *Que faire?* beside *Quoi faire?*, *Que ferai-je?* has eliminated *Quoi ferai-je?*) Apart from its use after prepositions (*De quoi s'agit-il?*) it is hardly employed except absolutely, in rhetorical questions and exclamations (*Quoi? Quoi! Quoi de plus beau!*)

272 *Quel* is used as either relative or interrogative in O F and follows the adjectival declension Class II It gradually ceased to be used as a relative, although examples of relative *quel* are to be found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries As an interrogative pronoun it has ceased to be used substantivally since the Renaissance (*Quel est son nom?* but not *Quel vient?*)

273 *Lequel* When used substantivally, *quel* sometimes took the definite article in O F (*le quel*, whence agglutinated *lequel*); *lequel* began to be used adjectivally towards the end of the O.F period *Lequel* is not found in the earliest O F texts, but it had this advantage over *qui* that it indicated

gender, case, and number more clearly, accordingly it was much favoured in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (XIV, 4), being used to reproduce certain Latin constructions, such as the ablative absolute (*Lesquels entrez dedans la maison grande De leur Seigneur, en brief dire leur vient*, Marot, Sudre, p 80; *Nageoit, une main en l'air, en laquelle tenant un livre transpassoit toute la riviere*, Rab I, 23) It was less frequently used in the seventeenth, and since then it has been much restricted it seldom appears as subject or direct object and it can no longer be used adjectivally Interrogative *lequel* was used adjectivally or (more commonly) substantivally in the Middle Ages, as an adjective it does not survive the Renaissance (Mod F *Lequel des deux?* but not *Lequel livre?*)

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

274 A certain number of the Latin indefinite pronouns have persisted down to Modern French

Autre, O F. *altre* (< ALTERUM), used substantivally and adjectivally from the beginning Contrary to medieval usage (cf XIV, 58), *autre* must now be preceded by an article, partitive *de*, or a pronominal adjective Survivals are *autre chose* (for older neuter *autre*), *autrefois*, *de temps à autre* In Mod F, as in O F., *autre* can refer to the past (*l'autre jour*), and in popular speech to the future In the Middle Ages *autre* was also used as a numeral (= *second*) It is regularly opposed, in O F. as in Mod F, to *un* in such phrases as *l'un l'autre, l'un et l'autre, l'un l'autre* (reciprocal), *les uns .. les autres* The analogical oblique form *autrui* (cf *lui*, § 238) is now used only as direct object or after a preposition, but formerly also functioned as a genitive or dative

Nul (< NULLUM), although itself negative, is accompanied by a pleonastic (analogical) *ne* (*Nuls n'en respondiét, Rol* 2411) It thus became an alternative for *aucun*, and its use has gradually been restricted until in Mod F it is used only in the singular, and as a pronoun only in the masculine (= *per-*

sonne) The oblique form *nullui* was still used in the sixteenth century

Tel (< TALEM) was originally inflected like *grand* (§ 187), but early developed an analogical feminine *telle* With *tel* used adjectivally the indefinite article was originally not essential (cf *de telle façon, de telle sorte,* and XII, 82, XIV, 85), but has gradually been generalized (*un tel cas,* pl. *de tels cas*) Its use before a substantive in the sense of 'like', 'as for example' results from the ellipsis of the verb *être* or of *que* (*Il s'avança furieux, tel un lion qui cherche sa proie*); cf also XIV, 57 As a pronoun it is no longer used in the plural (cf XVI, 57) It was formerly used in combination with other pronouns (*autretel*)

Tout (< *TŌTTUM for TŌTUM, which supplanted OMNIS), O F. masc nom pl *tuit* (beside later O F. *tout*), was used from the beginning substantivally, adjectivally, and adverbially Adjectival *tout* was formerly used without an accompanying article or pronominal adjective (XIV, 16), and its place with reference to the substantive was not fixed In Mod F it is used in the singular without an article in the sense of 'every', 'each and every' (*Tout homme a sa faiblesse*) The old usage is perpetuated in a large number of more or less set expressions *à tous égards, de tous côtés, à toutes jambes, toujours* (= *tous jours*), *tous deux* beside more emphatic *tous les deux* When used adverbially it is sometimes made to agree with a following adjective (§ 212), but not with a substantive (*Il est tout bonté*); the latter is to be distinguished from cases such as *de toute urgence,* where *toute* is an adjective meaning 'highest', 'utmost'

Other Latin forms persisted in O F but have not come down *alquant* (< ALIQUANTI) 'some', *alque* (ALIQUID) generally used adverbially (*alques*) 'somewhat', *el* (ALIUD) 'something else', *mult* (< MULTI) 'many', *quant* (< QUANTI) 'how many', *tant* (< TANTI) 'so many'

275 The loss of old forms was made good by new formations

(*a*) Compound forms:

Aucun (< ALIQUEM + UNUM) preserves its original positive

meaning (VI, 8, XI, 3, XII, 42, XIV, 58) in *d'aucuns* (*d'aucuns prétendent*), but the negative meaning, which results from its constant use in negative sentences, is regular since the sixteenth century. Apart from the case cited, it is no longer used in the plural

• *Chacun*, O F *chascun* < QUISQUE + UNUM influenced by CATA (=κατά) + UNUM (which survives in O F as *che(d)un*) *Chacun* ceased to be used as an adjective in the seventeenth century, being replaced by its derivative *chaque* (O F *chasque*), which is found as early as the twelfth century *Chacun* was occasionally used in the plural in O F As a pronoun it can still be preceded by the indefinite article in popular speech (*un chacun*), as it was in literary usage down to the eighteenth century. *Chaque* is sometimes used as a pronoun in such expressions as *Ces livres m'ont coûté cinq francs chaque*

Même, O F *me(d)esme* or *me(d)isme* (< *METIPSIMUM from *METIPSE der from EGOMET IPSE, etc), is used in French in the original sense 'himself' and also in the sense of IDEM 'the same' The modern rule requiring that in the sense of 'himself' it should follow the substantive was not formerly observed The same remark applies to the rule requiring that when used before a substantive in the sense of 'the same' it should be preceded by an article or pronominal adjective (cf the survivals *en même temps, de même qualité*) *Même* can also function as an adverb in the sense of 'even', and as such it often took an adverbial *s* (*mêmes*), this is partly responsible for the hesitation between *même* and *mêmes* (cf XII, 12, XIV, 1), which has not yet been completely eliminated, in spite of the Decree of 1901 admitting *mêmes* after a substantive or pronoun in the plural

276 The compound forms of later date have sometimes become completely fused (*quelque, quelconque, quiconque*) although spelling may not indicate the fusion (*quelque chose*), sometimes the constituent parts remain variable (*quelqu'un*)

Quelque dates from the thirteenth century and was at first written as two words, *quel* was perhaps originally an indefinite relative pronoun (*en quel royaume que ce soit*), and with

ellipsis of the verb, *quel que* became equivalent to 'whatever' (cf. XII, 111), from which the meaning 'some or other', 'some' developed, *quelque* being finally used as a simple adjective Before a numeral it becomes adverbial and is accordingly invariable (*quelque deux cents hommes*), but was formerly inflected (cf *tout*). It is also invariable in such expressions as *quelque grand qu'il soit* This use of *quelque* is modern and is an extension of older *quelque* + substantive + *que* (with pleonastic *que*; XIII, 43) for original *quel* + substantive + *que*, as in *Quel compaignie que tu trouisses* (Chemin de Povreté), Nyrop, V, 336 Cf Mod F *quelles que soient vos raisons.*

Quelque chose as an indefinite pronoun dates from the fifteenth century, and since the seventeenth century (Vaugelas) it is treated as a single neuter expression and is therefore masculine *Quelqu'un* likewise dates from the fifteenth but has never fused completely, both parts being variable It has gradually displaced *aucun* (cf § 275).

Quelconque and *quiconque* appear in O F as *quel que onques* and *qui que onques*, and on the strength of their frequent occurrence in translations it has been argued that they are Learned formations reproducing QUALISCUNQUE and QUICUNQUE, but there is no need to assume such an influence. *Quelconque* could formerly precede the substantive, and its first element was inflected *Quiconque* is used as an indefinite pronoun 'anyone whatsoever', or as an indefinite relative 'whoever', for older *qui* (§ 263) In the latter case it may stand as the subject of two verbs (*Quiconque parlera sera puni*) or as the subject of one and the object of another (*Je punirai quiconque parlera*)

Other modern formations are *n'importe qui*, *n'importe quel*, *n'importe quoi*, *tout le monde*

277 (*b*) Other indefinite pronouns are formed by using substantives and adjectives with change of function

On (< HOMO), being originally a substantive, was often preceded by the definite article Both forms have been preserved, but *l'on* is practically confined to the literary language and its use is governed by euphony it is employed after *ou*, *où*, *si*,

to avoid hiatus, and sometimes after *que*, it is avoided if the following word begins with *l* (*si on le voit*) In accordance with its etymology, *on* can only stand as the subject of a sentence, the corresponding oblique form being supplied by *nous, vous, soi* (*Quand on est chez soi*) Contrary to its etymology, *on* can, by syllepsis, be treated as feminine (*On n'est pas toujours belle*) and as a plural (*Quand on est amis il faut se dire la vérité*), but the use of a plural verb (*on répondirent*) has remained confined to dialects (cf. Nyrop, v, 377)

Un, originally a numeral, was frequently used as a pronoun in O F. and continued to be so used in the sixteenth century (*Comme les Egyptiens, apres leurs festins, faisoient presenter aux assistans une grand'image de la mort par* un *qui leur crioit Boy et t'esjouy, car, mort, tu seras tel*, Mont. I, 20) It is rare in Mod.F , except in popular speech, *pas un* (=*personne*) was common in the seventeenth century and is still used

Personne (< PERSONA) came to be used as a pronoun in French, and, owing to its constant use in negative phrases, developed a purely negative value It kept its original gender down to the seventeenth century, since when it is treated as masc (*Personne n'est venu*).

Rien (< REM) XIII, 63, also survived as a feminine substantive in the Middle Ages (*por nule rien*) Like *personne*, it has become a negative pronoun (*Rien n'est arrivé*) Cf the similar use of *chose* (XIII, 64).

Certain (< *CERTANUM der from CERTUM) is now rarely used substantivally (*certains disent*) As a pronominal adjective it is usually accompanied in Mod F by the indefinite article (*un certain renseignement*, pl *de certains renseignements*) and is to be distinguished from the pure adjective *certain* 'definite', 'conclusive' (*un renseignement certain*)

Plusieurs, O F. *pluisors* (< L.L. PLURIORES influenced by PLUS), is still used, as in O F , substantivally and adjectivally (*Plusieurs (hommes) sont arrivés*, cf X, 64), it has preserved its original uniformity (*plusieurs femmes*)

Maint is of doubtful origin (< MAGNUM + TANTUM?) Extensively used as an adjective in O F. and also as a substantive

in Mid F , it was described as obsolete by Vaugelas, and has persisted as an archaic and poetic word

C *VERBS*

278 The Classical Latin verbal system was maintained remarkably well in Vulgar Latin, thanks largely to the fact that the various endings fulfilled a clear, definite and significant function Phonetic changes had however impaired this clarity to some extent, e g AMAVIT and AMABIT, CANTA-(VE)RIM and CANTAREM, SCRIBAM (subjv) and SCRIBAM (fut) were confused New syntactic habits resulting from the general analytic tendency had led to the formation of periphrastic forms (Future and Passive), and the decline of the Classical tradition favoured a general levelling out by analogy and the elimination of anomalies (POSSE, VELLE, ESSE give way to *POTÉRE, *VOLÉRE, *ÉSSERE, etc)

279 Of the Latin Active Voice the following forms persisted through V L into French the Present, Imperfect, Perfect, Pluperfect of the Indicative, the Present, Pluperfect of the Subjunctive, the Present Imperative, the Present Infinitive, the Present Participle, the Gerund. The Perfect gradually becomes a pure preterite, its function as a perfect being surrendered to a new compound Perfect (HABEO CANTATUM, *j'ai chanté*) The Pluperfect Indicative is found only in the earliest O F texts and there fulfils the function of a preterite (II, notes), it is replaced by new compound Pluperfects (HABEBAM CANTATUM, *j'avais chanté*, HABUI CANTATUM, *j'eus chanté*) The Future Indicative survives only in the O F. future of *estre* (*ier* < ERO, *iers* < ERIS, etc beside the new forms *estrai*, *serai*; cf § 337) The Pluperfect Subjunctive took over the functions of the Imperfect Subjunctive and also of the Perfect Subjunctive, the latter having coalesced with the Future Perfect, from which it differed only in the 1st sing., new compound forms (*j'aie chanté*, *j'eusse chanté*) were created By analogy with the analytic forms of the passive, the verb *être* later came to be used as an auxiliary with reflexive verbs

and certain intransitive verbs (cf. §§ 382–8) The Imperative is maintained only in the 2nd sing of the present (AMA), the 2nd pl (AMATE) being replaced by the 2nd pl pres ind (AMATIS > *amez*) Of the Gerund only the ablative in -O survives, and it early tends to be confused with the Present Participle (§ 301 ff)

280 The synthetic forms of the Passive (AMOR) become rare in V L and gradually disappear, with the exception of the Past Participle They are replaced by analytic forms consisting of the past participle + ESSE on the analogy of the Latin analytic forms (AMATUS SUM, etc) The Past Participle had given up its past passive meaning[1] in favour of the present passive meaning which it already possessed in certain C L constructions Accordingly, AMOR gives place to AMATUS SUM, AMABAR to AMATUS ERAM, AMATUS SUM to AMATUS FUI, etc The Deponent verbs are assimilated to the Active (MORIOR, PRECOR are replaced by *MORIO, PRECO), thus completing a movement which had already begun in C L The analytic forms have this disadvantage that in the case of verbs expressing a momentary action they do not, in the present, imperfect, and future, render the idea of action (*il est battu* = 'he is beaten', *not* 'he is being beaten') Accordingly French has had recourse to the indefinite *on* + active voice (*on le bat*) or to the reflexive (*la fenêtre s'ouvre* = 'the window is being opened', whereas *la fenêtre est ouverte* = 'the window is open') However, in O F and as late as the sixteenth century the analytic form was often used where Mod F employs *on*

281 The Future was rendered in V L by means of a periphrasis consisting of the pres ind of such verbs as VELLE, HABERE, + infinitive In Gaul HABERE alone persisted in this function While in V L. it had not become fused with the infinitive and could precede or follow, French shows from the earliest monuments (1, 5, 7) only forms in which the infinitive has fused with the following contracted forms of HABEO (CANTARE + *AJO > *chanterai*, CANTARE + *AS > *chanteras*, etc.). Parallel with this new future there developed a Future

[1] It survives in *mort* and *né* (*il est né* 'he was born') Cf also XVI, 71

Imperfect (Future-in-the-Past or Conditional) composed of the infinitive + contracted forms of the impf ind. of HABERE (CANTARE + *EAM > *chanterei* > *chanteroie*, *chanterais*, cf § 334) The compound forms *j'aurai chanté* and *j'aurais chanté* are developed in sequence (cf § 438)

282 The verb-forms which had survived from C L. underwent in V L a series of changes, partly phonetic, partly analogical, the former tending to break down the uniformity of the C L system, the latter tending to level out irregularities which were thus created or already existed in C L Both may combine to bring about a change of paradigm. Their effect will be examined more in detail in connection with the various tenses, but a few of the more striking V L changes may here be mentioned.

283 The 1st sing pres ind of -ĒRE verbs ended in -EO, of some -ĔRE verbs (type CAPIO) in -IO In V.L. both -EO and -IO became *-jo*, which was maintained in some verbs but reduced to *-o* in others. Those which kept *-jo* tended to be assimilated to -ĪRE verbs in the proportion AUDIO AUDIRE . -JO *-IRE, whence V.L FODIRE, FUGIRE, CUPIRE, RAPIRE, MORIRE, IMPLIRE, LUCIRE, FLORIRE, etc Those which reduced *-jo* to *-o* tended to be assimilated to the -ĔRE verbs, whence RESPÓNDERE, RÍDERE, TÓNDERE, MÓRDERE, TÓRQUERE, TÉRGERE, FÚLGERE

284 The perfect in -UI is found in all four C L conjugations, but it was characteristic in the most frequently used verbs of the -ĒRE conjugation and only fairly common in the -ĔRE conjugation The tendency was therefore to re-model verbs of the latter conjugation in the proportion HABUI : HABĒRE -UI *-ĒRE, whence V L. SAPUI SAPÉRE, *CADUI (for CECIDI) CADÉRE The same re-modelling gave *POTÉRE (for POSSE), *VOLÉRE (for VELLE). Compounds of FERRE were normalized under the influence of FERIRE, whence *OFFERIRE, *SUFFERIRE.

285 Other analogical changes took place in accentuation Compound verbs which were still recognized as such were re-composed in V L , and the accent no longer fell on the

prefix· CÓNTINET > CONTÉNET > *contient*, but CÓLLOCAT > *colchet* > *couche*; cf. § 22 (*d*) The alternation of strong forms (accented on the stem) and weak forms (accented on the ending) was to some extent eliminated in V L. In verbs showing the 1st and 2nd pl. endings '-IMUS, '-ITIS, the accent passed from the stem to the ending under the influence of -ÁMUS, -ÁTIS, -ÉMUS, -ÉTIS, -ÍMUS, -ÍTIS, whence V L -ÉMUS, -ÉTIS FACIMUS and DICIMUS, both frequently used verbs, escaped this levelling process, whence O F *faimes*, *dimes*

286. The levelling tendency is also responsible for the creation of a new conjugation with the accent on the ending throughout the present indicative This is made possible in a verb like FLORERE by utilizing the inchoative forms FLORESCO, etc , whence a paradigm FLORÉSCO, FLORÉSCIS, FLORÉSCIT, FLORÉMUS, FLORÉTIS, FLORÉSCUNT The assimilation of many of these verbs to the -IRE class (§ 283) favoured the extension of -ISCO, which soon displaced -ESCO Similarly a new subjunctive (FLORESCAM) and imperative (FLORESCE) were formed At a later stage the inchoative suffix -ISC was extended to the 1st and 2nd pl pres ind , to the participle-gerund, and to the whole of the impf ind Thus arose the inchoative conjugation in -IRE of which the French *finir* class is the continuation The inchoative meaning had been lost before the end of the V L period

287 The result of these and other changes was to obliterate to some extent the classical distinction of four conjugations on the basis of the infinitive endings· I -ĀRE, II -ĒRE, III -ĔRE, IV -ĪRE But it should be remembered that even in C L this classification failed to cover a host of divergences, quite apart from the so-called irregular, anomalous, and defective verbs For example, a classification on the basis of the perfect and allied tenses would cut right across the traditional divisions (§ 345) Moreover, the group of verbs of the CAPIO type occupied an ambiguous position between III and IV Modern French preserves the phonetic equivalents of the four infinitives. *-er* (-ĀRE), *-oir* (-ĒRE), *-re* (-ĔRE), *-ir* (-ĪRE), but they no longer correspond to distinctive series of flexions

Verbs in *-er* alone present one common and uniform conjugation Verbs in *-ir* which add *-iss* to the root in the tenses of the present system (type *finir*) constitute a second regular conjugation, but the remaining verbs in *-ir* (about thirty in number), the verbs in *-oir* and in *-re* do not constitute separate conjugations, and one can at most distinguish groups presenting common features A change of infinitive does not necessarily imply a change of paradigm (e g *luire*, § 290), although it may be reflected in analogical re-modelling of certain forms or tenses. Conversely, a change of paradigm (from simple *-ir* to inchoative *-ir*) may leave the form of the infinitive unaffected Nor must change of paradigm be confused with the creation of a new verb (*toussser* for O F *toussir* represents, not a change of paradigm, but a new formation from *toux*)

288 The history of the French verbs will therefore be presented in the following pages as the history, not of conjugations, but of forms and tenses, singly or in groups Their chequered history will show that the fluctuation and conflict between phonetic development and analogical re-modelling already observed continues to the present day, although less striking in the modern period The alternation of strong and weak forms is normally reflected in corresponding variations in the form of the stem, its vowel developing as a tonic vowel in the former case, and as a countertonic or atonic vowel in the latter The resulting oscillation between two forms of the stem (*meurs—mourons*) is called Apophony. Further modifications may result from the influence of neighbouring sounds, which vary in the different persons of the same tense or in different tenses of the same verb. Against this has to be set the tendency to consider the stem invariable (seeing that it is the invariable thought-element) and to level out irregularities resulting from phonetic change Thus O F *plourer*, *plourons*, *plourez*, etc give place to *pleurer*, *pleurons*, *pleurez*, etc under the influence of the strong forms *pleure*, *pleures*, *pleurent* A similar associative influence often causes the accent to shift from one syllable to another, one ending

to be substituted for another, or a paradigm to be re-modelled in whole or in part

THE INFINITIVE

289. Infinitive in *-er* (< -ĀRE) After a palatal or palatalized sound, -ARE > *-ier* (JUDICARE > *jugier*, TRACTARE > *traitier*), which early began to be assimilated to the more numerous *-er* infinitives, and where it persisted was reduced to *-er* through the absorption of *i* by the preceding sibilant towards the end of the Middle Ages (§ 75) The *-er* class remained the most stable, supported as it was by the more stable and uniform conjugation Modern French has preserved none of the O F forms in *-ir*, *-oir*, *-re* for *-er*, such forms were particularly common in Anglo-Norman To the *-er* class belong not only verbs derived from Latin verbs in -ARE (*chanter* < CANTARE) and from Germanic verbs in -AN, -ŌN, and a few in -JAN (*guider* for *guier* from wītan, *danser* from dansōn, *gagner* < *gaaignier* from waidanjan), but also verbs of the following categories which are still productive (*a*) Verbs derived from substantives (*botter*, *draper*) (*b*) A few verbs derived from adjectives (*aveugler*, *griser*), but later formations of this type belong to the *-ir* class (*rougir*, *affaiblir*) (*c*) Verbs of foreign origin (*flirter*, *hâbler*, *stopper*) (*d*) Learned verbs borrowed from Latin (including those borrowed from Greek through Latin), the earliest such borrowings of Latin verbs in -ĒRE -ĔRE appear as *-ir* verbs (*affigir*, *discutir*, *procedir*, *restituir*), but under the influence of later borrowings, which uniformly give verbs in *-er* (*assister*, *dissuader*, *instituer*), they too pass into the *-er* class, with the exception of those which had in the meantime become inchoative (*abolir*, *agir*, *applaudir*, *languir*, *régir* and compounds of *-vertir*). (*e*) A few accessions from other classes with change of paradigm (*secouer* for older *secourre*, *tisser* for *tistre* (< TEXERE) and *tissir*, *épeler* for *espeldre* and *espelir*, *puer* for *puir*, the latter found as late as the seventeenth century) The following represent, not a change of class, but the adoption of a doublet of new creation *sangloter* (formed on *sanglot*) for *sangloutir*, *tousser* (formed on *toux*) for *toussir*

290 Infinitive in *-ir* (< -ĪRE, and -ĒRE preceded by a palatal) Besides verbs derived from Latin verbs in -IRE (*dormir* < DORMIRE) and from Germanic verbs in -JAN (*garnir* from warnjan), this class includes (*a*) Verbs in -ĒRE preceded by a palatal: *gésir* < JACĒRE, *loisir* < LICĒRE, *moisir* < MUCĒRE, *nuisir* < NOCĒRE, *plaisir* < PLACĒRE, *taisir* < TACĒRE, but of these only *gésir* and (as substantives) *plaisir*, *loisir* survive, and the verb *loisir* did not outlive the O F period, the remainder have given way to analogical infinitives *nuire*, *plaire*, *taire*, which appear in the twelfth century and are created in the proportion *duit duire* . *nui(s)t nuire*, *fait faire* *plai(s)t*, *tai(s)t* *plaire*, *taire* Similarly *luire* replaced *luisir* (< *LUCIRE) (*b*) Verbs in -ĒRE and -ĔRE that passed into the -IRE class in the V L period *fleurir* < *FLORIRE (FLORERE), *emplir* < *IMPLIRE (IMPLERE), *fuir* < *FUGIRE (FUGERE) (§ 283), or in the Gallo-Roman period *envahir* < *INVADIRE (INVADERE), *trahir* < *TRADIRE (TRADERE) For *offrir* < *OFFERIRE (OFFERRE), *souffrir* < *SUFFERIRE (SUFFERRE), see § 284 (*c*) Such early borrowings of verbs in -ĒRE, -ĔRE as had become inchoative (§ 289) (*d*) Late borrowings from -IRE verbs *démolir*, *mugir*, *rugir*, etc (*e*) Most verbs formed from adjectives (§§ 289, 524), some of which replace older verbs in *-ier* (*refroidir*, cf XIII, 5) and some of which failed to survive (*aveuglir*, *séchir*) (*f*) A few verbs derived from substantives (*brandir*, *croupir*) (*g*) Verbs derived from prep + subst (*anéantir*, *aboutir*), cf § 537 *Tenir* (TENERE) is due to the influence of *venir* Later accessions from other classes include *courir* for older *courre*, which has survived as a technical term (*courre le cerf*), *quérir* (and its compounds) for older *querre*, and with change of paradigm *benoir* (> *bénir*) for *ben(e)-istre* ≠ *benei* (§ 369), *étrécir* for *estrecier* ≠ verbs in *-cier*

291 *-ir* verbs are of two kinds, inchoative and simple (non-inchoative) The former class originally consisted of verbs derived from Latin inchoatives, or from a combination of simple and inchoative (§ 286), and rapidly gained ground at the expense of simple *-ir* verbs Inchoative verbs never become simple, but the passage from simple to inchoative

continues throughout the Middle Ages and is reflected in the medieval hesitation over such verbs as *bénir*, *croupir*, *fouir*, *enfouir*, *emplir*, *jouir*, *nourrir*, *resplendir*, *-vertir*, which are now inchoative, and *bouillir* and *partir*, which are now simple Inchoative forms of *haïr* are rare in the Middle Ages but general since the end of the sixteenth century, except in the sing of the pres ind (§ 321) Traces of former hesitation persist in the case of *saillir*, which is simple in the sense of 'to project' but inchoative in the sense of 'to spurt', *ressortir*, simple in the sense of 're-emerge', inchoative in the sense of 'be within the province of', *faillir*, inchoative in the sense of 'go bankrupt' In many other cases hesitation continued beyond the Renaissance (*tressaillir* still fluctuates in the eighteenth century, but is now simple)

292 Infinitive in *-oir* (< -ĒRE) To this class belong (*a*) Verbs in -ĒRE except those which in V L. passed into the -ĔRE class (MÓRDERE, RESPÓNDERE, RÍDERE, TÓNDERE, TÓRQUERE) or into the -ĪRE class (FLORÉRE, etc , cf § 286), and those in which -ĒRE was preceded by a palatal (§ 290) (*b*) Verbs in -ĔRE that in V.L passed into the -ĒRE class (SAPÉRE, CADÉRE) (*c*) *POTÉRE (POSSE), *VOLÉRE (VELLE), cf § 284 (*d*) Verbs in *-ecevoir*, such as *recevoir* for *reçoivre* in the proportion *doit devoir reçoit · recevoir* Such forms appear as early as the thirteenth century, *falloir* is a later variant of *faillir* (< *FALLIRE for FALLERE), with specialized meaning 'to be necessary', ≠*chaloir*, *valoir*, etc in the proportion *chaut chaloir faut falloir*

293 Infinitive in *-re* (< '-ĔRE) To this class belong verbs in -ĔRE, except those which in V L had joined the -ĒRE or -ĪRE class (see above), and *luire*, *nuire*, *plaire*, *taire* (§ 290), together with *e(s)tre* (< *ESSERE for ESSE) By the loss of unaccented *e*, *r* is brought into contact with the preceding consonant and final *e* persists as a supporting vowel, for the development of the group cons. + *r*, see §§ 100, 102 (*e*). CREDERE > *croire*, PERDERE > *perdre*, COGNOSCERE > *conoistre* > *connaître*, *beivre* (< BIBERE) and *escrivre* (< SCRIBERE) have become *boire*, *e(s)crire* in the proportion *croit croire · boit boire*, *lit lire · e(s)crit e(s)crire*, for *reçoivre—recevoir*, see § 292.

294 In O F. many infinitives presented, beside the etymological form, collateral forms which resulted from various analogical influences, e g. *cheir*, *seïr*, *veïr*, beside *cheoir*, *seoir*, *veoir*, *rompir* beside *rompre*, cf also the collateral forms *criembre*, *criendre*, *craindre*, *cremoir*, *cremir* Some of these persisted in the sixteenth century, e g *nasquir*, *vainquir*, *suivir*, formed on the past definite of *naistre*, *vaincre* (O F *veintre*), *suivre*; hesitations which affected the whole paradigm *couvrir* and *couvrer*, *recouvrir* and *recouvrer*, *cueillir* and *cueiller*

Syntax of the infinitive

295. The infinitive is a verbal substantive, and its history turns on the varying prominence given to its verbal and its substantival functions respectively The latter was much more prominent in O F than in Mod F, the infinitive being sometimes used as a pure substantive and supplied with a definite article Some verbs (*avoir*, *être*, *faire*) were used thus from a very early date and became so completely substantival that they were inflected, taking the characteristic *-s* of the nom sing (XII, 113) Others retain their verbal force sufficiently to be capable of taking a direct object, although accompanied by the definite article (*al estorm comencier*, *Rol* 2413, literally 'at the beginning the battle'). In Mid F substantival infinitives are less common and, in spite of an attempt by the poets of the Pléiade to revive them and the favour shown them by Malherbe, Mod F. shows only such fossilized forms as *un être*, *des vivres*, *le savoir*, *le devoir*, *le pouvoir*, *le loisir*, *le plaisir*, *le dîner*, *au sortir*, *au partir*.

The substantival character of the infinitive is further evidenced by its use as the subject, object or predicate of a verb (*Mentir est honteux*, *Il semblait avoir entendu*, *Je désire partir*) and by its use after prepositions

296 *de* + infinitive was originally the equivalent of the genitive of the gerund (CANTANDI). The original function is clearly seen when the infinitive depends on a substantive or adjective (*le plaisir de voyager*, *content de vivre*) or takes the place of *de* + substantive (*Il s'abstient de boire* = *de la boisson*, *On*

l'accuse d'avoir volé = de vol, *près de mourir = de la mort*) But gradually the use of *de* + inf was extended until it came to be little more than the equivalent of English 'to + inf' or German 'zu + inf', e g when the infinitive is the logical subject (*C'est une honte de mentir*) or direct object (*Je vous conseille de partir*) This development was probably due in part to the common use of *de* + substantive as a genitive of origin (*Chose honteuse est de mensonge = Chose honteuse vient de mensonge*) or as a genitive of reference (*Que tu me conseilles ou d'aventure ou de merveille!*), which was common in exclamations (*Fils Alexis, de ta dolente mere!* Alexis, 396, *Or du bien faire!* Bodel, *St Nicolas*, 396) The weakening of *de* led to its use as a mere link between the verb and a following infinitive, and before the so-called historic infinitive (*Grenouilles aussitôt de sauter dans les ondes*, La Fontaine, *Fables*, II, 14) Consequently there has always been considerable hesitation between the use of a pure infinitive, *de* + inf, and *à* + inf

297 *à* + infinitive was originally the equivalent of the dative of the gerund (CANTANDO) and is generally used after verbs or adjectives implying tendency In O F *à* was much more widely used and tended to become a mere adjunct Consequently it entered into competition with *de*, before which it continues to give ground down to the present day *à* + inf is employed in French to render the Latin supine (FACILE DICTU—*facile à dire*) or the Latin gerundive, and as such develops a passive meaning (*un conseil à suivre*) It is also used independently to denote means, manner, condition (*à en juger*, *à l'en croire*, *à vrai dire*, *à y regarder de près*) Formerly it was also used to denote circumstance, intention or purpose, and seventeenth-century authors favoured it where Mod F would require *pour* + inf (*Je ferai mon possible à bien venger mon père*, Corn *Le Cid*, 982)

298 The hesitation between *à* + inf and *de* + inf has left traces in Mod F (after *commencer*, *continuer*, *manquer*, *prendre garde*). Analogical influences and considerations of euphony often favoured one or other preposition (*commencer de* favoured by the analogy of *finir de*, *de* preferred before a vowel in

order to avoid hiatus) The hesitation has sometimes been utilized to distinguish shades of meaning, but this differentiation is not always observed (*commencer à* 'to begin for the first time', *commencer de* 'to begin an action which is not new', *continuer à* 'to proceed with an action', *continuer de* 'to persist in a course of action'), cf also XIV, 58, 66 Hesitation between *à* and *de* was particularly common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *tâcher à* (beside *de*), *essayer à* (beside *de*), *consentir de* (beside *à*), *s'attendre de* (beside *à*) Modern *se plaire à* has displaced seventeenth-century *se plaire de*, *commander de*, sixteenth-century *commander à*

299 *après* + infinitive Mod F requires the perfect infinitive (*après avoir chanté*) *Après boire*, *après dîner* are survivals of the older usage which allowed the pres inf after *après*

avant + infinitive was fairly common in the sixteenth century, as well as *avant que* + inf (≠*avant que* conj) The latter survived in the seventeenth, but *avant que de* (*de* due to analogy of *de* + inf after comparative *que*?) was favoured by Vaugelas *Avant de* was finally adopted in the eighteenth century

depuis + perfect infinitive is still found in the seventeenth century

par + infinitive was still commonly used in the seventeenth century to denote means or instrument (*Je rendois mon voyage inutile par être trop court*), but is now used only after *commencer* and *finir*

pour + infinitive was formerly used not only to denote purpose but cause or concession (*Ah! pour être dévot, je n'en suis pas moins homme*, Mol *Tart* 966), the latter use is now possible only with the perfect infinitive (*Je ne le connais pas pour l'avoir vu deux fois*), cf § 462

300 Accusative + infinitive The use of the acc + inf construction had been much restricted in V L, notably after verbs of saying, where a QUOD-clause was preferred. It continued to be favoured, however, if the object of the governing verb was at the same time the subject of the infinitive With the same restrictions it continued to be used in O F Under Latin influence it became general in the sixteenth century

(*Ilz demandoient les cloches leurs estre rendues*, Rab 1, 18), but its use was much restricted again in the seventeenth (cf Haase, 89). It survives, often with passive meaning, in Mod.F after verbs of perception (*entendre*, *sentir*, *voir*), *laisser*, *faire* (*Je l'ai fait venir*) After verbs of saying it is still used if the subject is a personal pronoun and the infinitive is *être* *Je le croyais (être) fini* After verbs of perception, *laisser*, and *faire*, the dative is sometimes used to denote the subject of the infinitive (*Je le lui ai entendu dire*, *Je lui ai fait lire la lettre*). This use of the dative probably goes back to the L L use of the dative with an active infinitive (*Eos vero ulciscendo multis ad regna caelorum fecit habere*), which is an extension of the C L dative of agent used with the gerundive or past participle (cf § 375)

PRESENT PARTICIPLE AND GERUND

301 Of the gerund only the form in -o survived in V L , the other cases being rendered by prep + inf Of the present participle the accusative and the nominative survived, the latter being re-modelled· *AMANTIS (for AMANS)—AMANTEM In V L the ending of the First Conjugation (-ANTEM, -ANDO) was generalized, and displaced -ENTEM, -ENDO, -IENTEM, -IENDO, but not until after the changes $k^{i} > iz$, $vj > dž$ (§ 102 *b*, *f*) LUCENTEM > *luisant*, DICENTEM > *disant*, SERVIENTEM > *sergeant*, which has survived as a subst With the loss of the final vowel, *-ant* results (*-anz* in the nom sing and acc. pl of the present participle, which therefore conforms to the adjective declension of the *grant* type) *chantant*, *partant*, *finissant*, *bevant*, *perdant*

302 The close connection of the present participle-gerund with the pres ind and subjv results in its being frequently re-modelled on these tenses, with or without the added support of the infinitive *ayant* for *avant* (HABENTEM), *pleuvant* for *plouvant*, *voyant* for *veant*, *croyant* for *creant* (which survives in archaic *mécréant*), O F *vueillant* (beside *voulant* < VOLENTEM) survives in *bienveillant*, *malveillant*, (*as*)*seyant* and (*as*)*soyant* crowded out (*as*)*seant* (< SEDENTEM), which survives as a substantive and in *bienséant*, *malséant* Other verbs in which both

forms survive (one as the pres part -gerund, the other in a specialized use which has isolated it from the rest of the verb) are *pouvant—puissant* (≠*puis, puisse*), *sachant* (≠*sache*) (twelfth century)—*savant* used only as an adj or subst since the sixteenth century; *valant—vaillant* (≠*vail, vaille*) now a pure adj except in *n'avoir pas un sou vaillant, en son vivant, sur son séant* are survivals of the O F substantival use of the gerund

303 In *échéant, déchéant, séant, mécréant,* and their derivatives unaccented *e* in hiatus has been maintained and strengthened (cf § 60); in *méchant* (O F *mescheant*) it has been left to its normal fate and has been absorbed by tonic *a*, because here the connection with the verb (*mescheoir*) was early lost sight of, and there was not the same motive for maintaining the verbal stem The *s* of *lisant, lisent, lise,* etc for **leant* (<LEGENTEM), etc is probably due to the influence of *disant, disent, dise* (§ 301), *prenant* for *prendant* (PRE(H)ENDENTEM) may be due to the influence of *tenant* (§ 321).

Syntax of the present participle and gerund

304 The C L distinction between the syntactic functions of the present participle and the gerund had to a large extent broken down in V L , the use of the gerund being extended at the expense of the pres part In O F this movement continued and was facilitated by the identity of form, which became complete when final *s* became mute Uncertainty in the use of flexional *-s* adds to the difficulty of determining the precise functions of the two forms, but it is clear that the pres part in its verbal function continued to give ground before the gerund, notably when the verb is an intransitive verb denoting movement The gerund was in O F used after a variety of prepositions, of which *en* + gerund alone survives, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *en* is still often omitted where Mod F requires it (cf XIV, 113)

The gerund was formerly used more extensively in absolute constructions (XIV, 65, XV *a*, 31), as the complement of a verb (*faire semblant*, cf XI, 3) or with *aller, venir* as a more graphic variant of simple tenses (III, 10, V, 3, VI, 22, XVI, 39, XVIII *b*,

13, cf *la somme va en augmentant*) Contrary to Mod F usage, O F placed the direct object before the gerund (cf the survival in *chemin faisant*) and did not require that the gerund should refer to the subject of the sentence (XIII, 25), cf a survival in *L'appétit vient en mangeant*

‹ 305 The present participle, which originally had no distinctive form for the feminine, developed an analogical feminine form in *-e*, found in the twelfth century but not extensively used Even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there is considerable hesitation, Vaugelas authorizing forms in *-e* only for the pres part of intransitive verbs This hesitation and the confusion of pres part and gerund (cf XIV, 31, 43, 59, XV *a*, 5, 26) were nominally ended by the ruling of the Academy (1679) to the effect that the form in *-ant* should be treated as invariable if it denotes an action, and should vary in number and gender if it denotes a continuous state or quality But in fact hesitation continues in the eighteenth century The ruling of the Academy is now observed in literary usage and might be re-worded thus the gerund, whether accompanied by *en* or not, denotes action and is invariable (*On apprend en lisant*, *Une femme charmant ses auditeurs*), the present participle denotes a state or quality, and, in conformity with its original function, is variable (*une femme charmante*). In such expressions as *une école payante* the real subject is not *école* but an indefinite person or persons, i.e not 'a paying school' but 'a school where one pays', similarly *couleur voyante, séance tenante*

PRESENT INDICATIVE

306 OLD FRENCH PARADIGMS

chanter	partir	fenir	valeir	beivre
chant	*part*	*fenis*	*vail*	*beif*
chantes	*parz*	*fenis*	*vals*	*beis*
chantet	*part*	*fenist*	*valt*	*beit*
chantons	*partons*	*fenissons*	*valons*	*bevons*
chantez	*partez*	*fenissez*	*valez*	*bevez*
chantent	*partent*	*fenissent*	*valent*	*beivent*

307 THE ENDINGS

Singular		Plural	
Latin	O.F.	Latin	O F.
-O	—	-AMUS	*-ons*
-(J)O	—	-EMUS -IMUS	
-AS	*-es*	-ATIS	*-ez*
-ES -IS	*-s*	-ETIS -ITIS	
-AT	*-e(t)*	-ANT	*-ent*
-ET -IT	*-t*	-ENT -UNT -(J)UNT	

(1) *-o* persists as a supporting *e* after a difficult group (*entre*, *semble*, *couvre*, *offre*, *ouvre*, *souffre*) Apart from such cases, *-o* disappeared and the first person therefore normally ended in a consonant or an accented vowel or a diphthong But beginning in the twelfth century, verbs which have *-es*, *-e(t)* in the 2nd and 3rd sing (i.e verbs of the *-er* class) also take *-e* in the first person Forms like *entre*, *semble*, etc are partly responsible for the extension of this *-e*, but the new 1st sing is essentially a re-modelling on the analogy of the 2nd and 3rd sing , for not only is *e* added but the preceding consonant is also carried over into the first person (*lef*, *leves*, *leve(t)* give place to *lave*, *laves*, *lave*) Forms without *-e* persist as late as the fifteenth century, when they disappear entirely All other verbs show *-s* in Mod F , this is etymological in verbs whose stem ends in *s* (*crois* < CRESCO, *connais* O F *conois* < COGNOSCO, *finis* O F *fenis* < FINISCO), and from these *-s*, which came to be considered as the characteristic sign of the 1st sing , was extended by analogy to other verbs (*pars* for *part*, etc) and was added as such in other tenses as well (see below) This paragogic *-s* first appears in the twelfth century, but the etymological forms without *-s* persist down to the sixteenth (XIV, 40), in the seventeenth they are still employed sporadically (XVII, 9, 21) but thenceforth become the prerogative of poets anxious to rime for the eye as well as for the ear (e g *voi*, *sai*, *croi*, in rimes of modern poets) Occasionally *x* appears as an alternative spelling (*vaux*, *veux*, etc).

(2) -AS > *-es*, which persists intact in O F , -IS and -ES > *-s*, which combines with a preceding *t* or *d* to give *z* (= ts) later reduced to *s* (*parz* > *pars*), the *d* being sometimes restored in spelling (*perz* > *pers*, orth *perds*, *renz* > *rens*, orth *rends*)

(3) -AT > *-eţ* > *-e*, -IT and -ET > *-t*, which sometimes gives place to *-d* (*tend*, *coud*, *moud*, *prend*), a purely orthographic change due to etymological reaction or the influence of other forms (*tendons*, *tendez*, *tendent*, etc) Similarly the *c* of *vainc* (O F *veint*) is due to the generalization of *c* from the remodelled inf , fut , and past part (*vaincre*, *vaincrai*, *vaincu* for O F. *veintre*, *veintrai*, *vencu*)

(4) The etymological endings are replaced by *-oms*, *-ons*, which are carried over from *soms*, *sons* (< SUMUS) The latter also appears as *somes* (§ 321), whence the ending *-omes* was sometimes extended by analogy to other verbs

(5) -ATIS > *-ez*, which was early generalized at the expense of *-eiz* (< -ĒTIS) and *-iz* (< -ĪTIS) After a palatal, -ATIS > *-iez*, which is later reduced through absorption of *i* by the preceding sibilant or by analogy (§ 75), *z* (= ts) is reduced to *s*, which becomes mute, although *z* persists in spelling (§§ 108, 169)

(6) -ANT, -ENT, -UNT[1] alike become *-ent*, which was originally pronounced as spelt, but eventually became mute, *t* is restored in Mod F as a liaison-consonant

308 In Mod F the personal endings have to a large extent a purely orthographic value (apart from liaison), *-ons* (= õ) and *-ez* (= e) alone persisting in the spoken language Consequently the personal pronouns have become a necessary adjunct for the distinction of persons, they have in fact become to a large extent agglutinated and represent a new flexion in place of the old flexion by termination But even with the help of pronouns the distinction between 3rd sing and 3rd pl is possible only if the verb begins with a vowel (il dǫn = *il donne* or *ils donnent*, but *il aime* = ilęm, whereas *ils aiment* = ilzęm) The varying form of the stem sometimes helps to maintain a distinction (*il boit—ils boivent*, *il veut—ils veulent*, etc).

[1] The 3rd pl -IUNT had been completely eliminated by -UNT

The stem-vowel

309 In accordance with phonetic laws the vowel of the stem developed differently according as the tonic accent fell on the stem (1st, 2nd, 3rd, 6th pers) or on the ending (4th, 5th pers), and in the latter case it may disappear entirely if it is counterfinal. *PARÁULAS (PARABOLAS) > *paroles*, while *PARAULÁTIS (PARABOLATIS) > *parlez* The resulting oscillation between two forms of the stem, which is called Apophony, is characteristic of many verbs in O F , but it has since been eliminated to a large extent by the generalization of one or other of the forms of the stem The following examples will illustrate this phenomenon

310 I Change of vowel. *aim—amons*, *lef—lavons*, *truef—trouvons*, *espeir—esperons*, *lief—levons*, *pri—preions*, *pleur—plourons*, *suefre—soufrons*, *apui—apoyons* In the majority of cases it is the stem of the 1st and 2nd pl that has been generalized (*je lave*, *je trouve*, *j'espère*, *je lève*, *je souffre*), but sometimes the reverse has happened (*nous aimons*, *prions*, *pleurons*, *appuyons*) A number of Mod F verbs preserve the original apophony *meurs—mourons*, *acquiers—acquérons*, *bois—buvons* (O F. *bevons*), *veux—voulons*, *dois—devons*, *reçois—recevons*, *viens—venons*, *tiens—tenons*, *meus—mouvons*, *peux—pouvons* A relic of apophony is to be seen in such forms as *amant* (beside *aime*, *aimons*, etc) Occasionally doublets have been created by the generalization of both forms of the stem *épleuré—éploré*, NEGARE and NEGARE by regular phonetic development fell together, giving one verb *neier* with apophony *ni—neions*, whence through generalization of both forms of the stem the doublet *nier* (with the meaning NEGARE)—*noyer* (with the meaning of NEGARE restricted)

311 II Loss of vowel *aju(e)* (ADJUTO)—*aidons*, *desjun(e)* (*DISJEJUNO)—*disnons*, *manju(e)* (MANDUCO)—*manjons*, *parol(e)—parlons* The stem of the 1st and 2nd pl. has as a rule been generalized (*parle*, *mange*), the generalization of both forms has created the doublet *dîner—déjeuner* Apophony of this type was thus completely eliminated before the sixteenth

century, but the subsequent loss of counterfinal *ə* created a new series of verbs presenting the same alternation Orthography preserves *e* throughout, but indicates the apophony by either doubling the following consonant or employing the grave accent to distinguish *ę* from *ə*. *appelle—app(ə)lons*, *cachette—cach(ə)tons*, *achète—ach(ə)tons*, *soulève—soul(ə)vons* Here too the tendency to generalize one form of the stem re-asserts itself in popular speech, which, as in the earlier period, prefers the shortened form (*ach'te, décol'te*), but orthography exercises a conserving influence Another type of modern apophony is that which results from the varying treatment of hiatus-vowels *joue* (=žu)—*jouons* (=žwõ), *signifie* (=sin'ifi)—*signifions* (=sin'ifjõ)

312. It sometimes happened that apophony was introduced by analogy into verbs which did not develop it phonetically Thus *plei* (PLĬCO)—*pleions* became (under the influence of *pri* (PRĔCO)—*preions*) *pli—pleions* (>*ployons*), whence by generalization of both forms of the stem the modern doublet *plier—ployer* Similarly *lei* (LĬGO)—*leions* gave way to *li—leions*, whence, by generalization of the stem form *li-*, the modern verb *lier*.

The final consonant of the stem

313 The varying phonetic conditions in which the final consonant of the stem finds itself in the different persons create another form of apophony (cf the *boivre* paradigm) This has often been eliminated, partly or entirely, by the levelling out of one of the forms of the stem Sometimes this affects only orthography, while pronunciation preserves the apophony (cf the spelling *romps, rompt* ≠with *rompons*, etc)

314 (1) By the loss of final *-o* the consonant became final, with the result that the stem appears in a special form showing the changes indicated in § 101 *beif—bevons, vif—vivons, serf—servons, reçoif—recevons, muef—mouvons, plaing—plaignons, prent—pren(d)ons, rent—rendons*; the loss of the final consonant produces a form of the stem which is identical with that of the 2nd and 3rd sing (where the consonant regularly disappears

before *s*, *t*) LEGO > *li*, DEBEO > *DEJO > *dei*, CONDUCO > *condui*, DICO > *di*, VIDEO > *vei*, CREDO > *crei*, RIDEO > *ri* In all such cases the etymological forms have been replaced by analogical forms in *-s* (cf § 307). For *estois*, *suis*, *vais*, see § 321.

315 The ending *-eo*, *-io* had in V L been reduced to *-o* in many verbs (*DORMO, *SENTO, etc , cf § 283) but persisted , in others in the form of *-jo* A certain number of verbs which in C L ended in *-o* joined this category in V L. (*FALLIO for FALLO, *COLLIO for COLLIGO, etc). The presence of *j* affected the development of the stem The resulting apophony is maintained in O F but has since been eliminated (with the sole exception of *je puis*, beside analogical *je peux*) by the levelling out of one or other of the two forms which the stem presented

O F	Mod F
vail (< VALEO), *vals*, etc	*je vaux*, *tu vaux*, etc
cueil (< *COLLIO for COLLIGO), *cuelz*	*je cueille*
assail (< *-SALIO), *assals*	*j'assaille*
vueil (< *VOLEO), *vuels*	*je veux*
muir (< *MORIO), *muers*	*je meurs*
boil (< BULLIO), *bols*	*je bous*
puis (< *POTEO),[1] *puez*	*je puis* (*je peux*)
haz (< *HATIO), *hez*	*je hais*
faz (< FACIO), *fais*	*je fais*
oi (< AUDIO), *oz*	—
fail (< *FALLIO), *fals*	*je faux*

In some verbs the levelling out took place in the pre-literary period (JACEO—*gis*) PLACEO, TACEO, NOCEO, LUCEO were remodelled in early O F *plais*, *tais*, *nuis*, *luis* by analogy with the 2nd and 3rd sing DEBEO > *DEJO > *dei*, SAPIO > *SAJO (≠HABEO > *AJO) > *sai*

316 (2, 3) The final consonant of the stem, being brought into contact with *-s* or *-t* of the ending, forms a group which develops in accordance with the phonetic laws governing groups of consonants (§ 99) the first may disappear (*vis*, *vit*,

[1] Cf § 321.

deis, deit, sers, sert, receis, receit, dors, dort, escris, escrit, beside *vif—vivons, dei—devons, serf—servons, receif—recevons, dor(m)—dormons, escrif—escrivons*), final *s* of the stem combines with *-s*, persists before *-t* of the ending, but becomes mute subsequently (*conois, conoist, crois, croist, nais, naist, pais, paist*), for *t, d, +s*, see § 307, *l* or *l'* > *t* > *u* (*vaux, vaut, bous, bout*; *veux, veut, absous, absout, faux, faut*, beside *vail—valons*, etc), *n'* > *in* (*peins, peint*; *plains, plaint, joins, joint*; *crains, craint*, beside *peignons*, etc), *m* > *n*, which (like original *n*) is eventually absorbed by the preceding nasal vowel (*rons, ront*, beside *rompons*, etc) The final consonant of the stem is often restored in spelling *romps, rompt*; *mets, couds, rends, bats, prends, vends, vêts*

317 *Cueillir, saillir, assaillir, tressaillir* show a levelling out of the *l'* which originally appeared in the 1st sing only (*cueil, cuelz, cuelt*) This brought with it the introduction of a supporting *-e* in the 2nd and 3rd sing (*cueilles, cueille*) which was later extended to the 1st sing (*cueille*) Such forms as *il assaut, il tressaut* are still used in the seventeenth century but are now extinct *Saillir* is also conjugated as an inchoative verb (cf § 291) *Défaillir* shows the same levelling out of *l'* (*défaille*), but *faillir* retains *faux, faut*, beside *faillons, faillez, faillent*

318 (4, 5, 6) The development of the final consonant of the stem is uniform in the 1st pl , 2nd pl , and 3rd pl., with the following exceptions (*a*) Palatals show a uniform development in *-ĀRE* and *-ĒRE* verbs COLLOCAMUS > *colchons* (*-ons* being generalized after the change $k^a > t\check{s}$), COLLOCATIS > *colchiez*, COLLOCANT > *colchent*, they disappear before *-UNT* of *-ĔRE* and *-ĪRE* verbs, *-ent* not being generalized until after this change, whence DICUNT > O F *dient*, DUCUNT > O F *duient*, COQUUNT > O F *cuient*, but levelling out of the stem of 1st and 2nd pl. has since taken place, whence *disent, -duisent, cuisent* (*b*) The fact that the accent fell on the ending in the 1st pl and 2nd pl , and on the stem in 3rd pl , should in certain cases have produced a varying development of the final consonant MANDUCĀTIS > *mangiez*, but MANDŪCANT should

have given **manduent*, there is however no trace of the latter in French, *mang-* having been levelled out in the pre-literary period. Note that in O F *dimes, dites* and *faimes, faites* we have survivals of stem-accented DĪCIMUS, DĪCITIS and FĂCIMUS, FĂCITIS. Beside these forms O F also shows analogical *dioms, diez, faions, faiez*; the forms with *-s-* are due to the influence of *disant, disete, faisant, faisete*, and appear as early as the thirteenth century. Analogical *disez* and *faisez* survive only in patois or popular speech, but in compounds of *dire*, except *redire* (*redites*), the etymological *-dites* has given way to analogical *-disez* (*médisez, interdisez*, etc.)

319 The stem of verbs in *-oyer, -uyer, -ayer* ends in *j*, which disappeared when the following *ə* became mute, whence the alternation *waj—wa, wij—wi, ɛj—ɛ* (*envoyons—envoient, ennuyons—ennuyent, payons—payent* or *paient*) In these verbs *y* represented *ij* (*envoyons* = ãvwajõ, older ãnvoijõ), and therefore before *ə* the letter *i* (or in the case of *-ayer* verbs, either *i* or *y*) is retained as part of the graphies *oi* (= wa), *ui* (= wi), *ai* or *ay* (= ɛ) Similarly the *j* which appears in the 1st and 2nd pl. of certain verbs (*croyons, fuyons*, where *y* = *ij*) disappeared in the 3rd pl when *-ent* became mute, whence krwajõ (*croyons*)—krwa (*croient*), fwijõ (*fuyons*)—fwi (*fuient*)

320 Inchoative verbs in *-ir* (*finir* type) originally added -ISC- only in the 1st, 2nd, 3rd sing and 3rd pl, but before the beginning of the O F period this was extended to the 1st and 2nd pl (FINISCO, FINISCIS, FINISCIT, FINISCIMUS, FINISCITIS, FINISCUNT), cf § 286

321 The present indicative of the following verbs calls for special comment·

Aller O F *vois, vas, va(t), alons, alez, vont* The forms of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd sing. and 3rd pl represent forms of VADERE, which appear to have developed under the influence of the contracted forms of HABERE (*ai, as, at*) Thus VADO > *VAO, > **vo*, which by analogy with *ai* (HABEO) takes *i*, and then paragogic *-s*, *vois* (XIV, 75) gives place to *vais*, which prevails definitely in the seventeenth century Beside *vais, vois*, a form *va(s)* developed by analogy with the 2nd and 3rd sing, and

this form was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (XVIII *b*, 13), but in spite of Vaugelas' defence of it, *vas* is from the seventeenth century considered a vulgar or dialectal form Analogical *vais* (2nd sing) and *vait* (3rd sing) are found in O F , the latter being particularly common in the early period, *alons, alez* are derived from *ALARE, which is a contraction of AMBULARE resulting from the frequent exclamatory use of AMBULAMUS! (>*ALAMUS!) and AMBULATIS! (>*ALATIS!)

(*As*)*seoir* O F *sié, siez* (*siés*), *siét, seons, seez, siéent* (*séent*) *d* is restored in spelling in *sieds, sied*, hiatus-*j* developed in *seyons, seyez, seyent* (cf *rire*) The alternative form of the pres. ind *assois*, etc is due to generalization of *oi* from the infinitive *seoir*

Avoir As a result of their constant proclitic use, HABEO, HABES, HABET were reduced in V L to *AJO, *AS, *AT, whence French *ai, as, a*(*t*), HABEMUS and HABETIS become, with the usual substitution of endings, *avons, avez*, HABENT, under the influence of SUNT, gave way to *ABUNT, whence *AUNT > *ont*

Choir (now obsolete) and *dechoir, échoir* O F *chié, chiez* (*chiés*), *chiét, cheons, cheez, chiéent* (*chéent*) have given place to (*dé*)*chois, chois, choit, choyons, choyez, choient*, under the influence of the infinitive *ch*(*e*)*oir*

Craindre, O F *criembre* (< TREMERE + a Celtic verb with the stem *CRIT-) O F *criem, criens, crient, cremons, cremez, criement* These forms, together with the infinitive, were re-modelled under the influence of verbs in *-aindre* (<-ÁNGERE), the point of departure being the singular, which offered a close affinity (cf *plaing, plains, plaint*) Thence the re-modelling was extended to all parts of the verb

O F *ester* (< STARE) develops in the same way as *aler estois* (*ESTAO), *estas, esta*(*t*) or *estait, estons, estez, estont*

Être O F *sui, es, est, soms, estes, sont* *Sui* for SUM presents a difficulty which M Fouché (*op cit* p 408) meets by postulating a form *SUJO (< SUM + *AJO < HABEO), in certain dialects, it is argued, the contamination with *AJO took place after SUM had become **so*, whence the dialectal form *soi*

The final *-s* of *suis* may be due to generalization of *-s* or to the analogy of *puis* Beside *es*, which represents the countertonic development of *ę*, the tonic form *iés* is also found in O F. (XII, 75), whence an analogical 2nd pl *iestes* beside *estes* SUMUS regularly gives *soms* or, with assimilation of *m*, *sons*, but this form early gave way to *sommes*. The *e* of the latter form may have developed in the first instance as a supporting vowel (whenever a word beginning with a consonant followed), being later generalized (cf Fouché, p. 410) A third form *esmes*, created on the analogy of *estes*, is also found in O F but is comparatively rare

Hair (Germ hatjan) O F *hai* (*hé*, *haz*), *hez*, *het*, *haons*, *haez*, *héent*, which by the end of the Middle Ages had given way to forms with *ai* levelled *hais*, *hais*, *hait*, *hayons*, *hayez*, *haient* At the same time the tendency to treat the verb as inchoative gave rise to hesitation between *haïs* and *hais*, *haissons* and *hayons*, etc In the seventeenth century the modern compromise was arrived at whereby the inchoative forms are accepted throughout the verb, except in the singular of the pres ind (*je hais*, *tu hais*, *il hait*, but *nous haïssons*, etc)

Pouvoir O F *pooir* (< *POTÉRE for POSSE) V L. POTEO or POSSIO, POTES, POTET, POTEMUS, POTETIS, POTENT, O F. *puis*, *puez*, *puet*, *poons*, *poeiz*, *pueent* *Puis* presupposes a V L POSSIO (< POSSUM contaminated with *POTEO?), the modern alternative form *peux* is analogical (≠2nd *peux* and 3rd *peut*), dating from about 1500 and persisting in spite of the protests of purists and grammarians The *v* of Mod F *pouvons*, *pouvez*, *peuvent* is probably due to the influence of the infinitive (see below), and begins to appear in the thirteenth century; forms without *v* are still found in the sixteenth century In the infinitive, when countertonic *o* had become *u* (*pooir* > *puweŗ* > *puwar*), it threatened to be assimilated and absorbed by the following *w* The reaction against this tendency took the form of a differentiation of *w*, which developed a fricative *v* (*puvwaŗ*). Two other less satisfactory explanations have been advanced analogy of *mouvoir*, *mouvons*, *trouver*, *trouvons* and

the like, or development of hiatus-*w* between two rounded vowels

Prendre O F *pren(t), prenz (prens), prent, pren(d)ons, pren(d)ez, pren(d)ent* Plural forms without *d* are found as early as the *Roland* (*prenent*, l 2552) but do not completely triumph until the sixteenth century, they are generally ascribed to the influence of *tenons, tenez, tiennent* In the singular *d* has been restored in modern spelling

Rire. O F *ri, riz, rit, rions, riez, rient*, from which the modern forms have developed regularly, but orthography takes no account of the development of hiatus-*j* (rijõ, rije)

Savoir. O F *sai, ses, set, savons, savez, sevent* In Mod F. *sai* (= sę) became (se) by analogy with the 2nd and 3rd sing , *savent* is due to the analogy of *savons, savez*, and finally ousts *sevent* (< *SAPUNT) in the fifteenth century

Suivre V L SEQUO, SEQUIS, SEQUIT, SEQUIMUS, SEQUITIS, SEQUUNT, O F *siu, sius, siut, sevons, sevez, sivent* The O F forms show elimination of the palatal element after it had modified tonic *e*, and also vocalization of the labial element of *qu* (= kw) before a consonant or when final (cf § 103) The metathesis whereby *iu* > *ui* (*suis*, etc) was undoubtedly facilitated by the fact that *-u, -us, -ut* constituted an anomaly beside the common endings *-i, -is, -it* From the resulting *sui(s), suis, suit, ui* was generalized throughout the verb

PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

322 OLD FRENCH PARADIGMS

chanter	partir	fenir	valeir	beivre
chant	*parte*	*fenisse*	*vaille*	*beive*
chanz	*partes*	*fenisses*	*vailles*	*beives*
chant	*partet*	*fenisset*	*vaillet*	*beivet*
chantons	*partons*	*fenissons*	*vaillens*	*bevons*
chantez	*partez*	*fenissez*	*vaillez*	*bevez*
chantent	*partent*	*fenissent*	*vaillent*	*beivent*

323. THE ENDINGS

Singular		Plural	
Latin	O F	Latin	O F
-EM	—	-EMUS -AMUS	*-ons*
-(J)AM	*-e*	-(J)AMUS	*-iens*
-ES	*-s*	-ETIS -ATIS	*-ez*
-(J)AS	*-es*	-(J)ATIS	*-iez*
-ET	*-t*	-ENT	*-ent*
-(J)AT	*-e(t)*	-(J)ANT	

The vowel of Latin -EM, -ES, -ET persists as a supporting *ə* after a group consisting of cons + liquid or palatal The O.F *-e*, *-es*, *-e(t)* were thus the characteristic endings of the subjunctive in all O F verbs except those *-er* (-ĀRE) verbs which did not require a supporting *ə* The latter were gradually brought into line, this began as early as the twelfth century with the 2nd sing and 1st sing The 3rd sing , being more frequently used and supported by other subjunctive forms without *e* (*soit, ait, chantast*, etc), resisted this levelling tendency much longer It is not until the second half of the thirteenth century that forms with *-e* in the 1st and 3rd sing. gain the upper hand, and in the 3rd sing the old forms survive sporadically in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—even later in the expression *Dieu te (vous) gard'*, where the apostrophe is unjustifiable (Nyrop, II, § 136) In the 3rd sing the *-e* of *-et* (< -AT) disappears if the stem ends in *s*, *r*, *n*, or *j* (*voist, plaist, puist, curt, taist, ait* < *AJAT, *seit* < *SIAT), but it is generally restored by analogy with the 1st and 2nd sing (*plaise, puisse*), *seit* and *ait*, owing to their more frequent use, have resisted this influence down to the present day

-EMUS and -AMUS are represented in French by *-ons*, which is due to the analogy of the pres ind , but -JAMUS (< -EAMUS and -IAMUS) regularly gave *-iens* (*vailliens, faciens, aiens, seiens*, etc), which was extended by analogy and competed with *-ons* in O F The modern *-ions*, which results from a combination of *-ons* and *-iens*, appears as early as the fourteenth century It triumphed all the more easily as it served

to distinguish the subjunctive from the indicative in all verbs

-ez (< -ATIS) was early generalized at the expense of *-eiz* (< -ĒTIS), but *-eiz* (later *-oiz*) is found sporadically in early texts and survives in certain dialects, *-iez*, which was regular after palatals, was generalized (at the expense of *-ez*) much more slowly than *-ions* (at the expense of *-ons*), and subjunctive forms in *-ez* are found as late as the sixteenth century

-ent developed as in the indicative (§ 307)

The stem

324 The changes in the stem are analogous to those which we have observed in the indicative Examples of apophony surviving in Mod F *boive—buvions, reçoive—recevions, acquière—acquérions, doive—devions, meuve—mouvions, meure—mourions, tienne—tenions, vienne—venions* Levelling out has often eliminated apophony, as in the indicative *pleure—pleurions* for *plourions*, etc

The modification of the final consonant of the stem before *-s* or *-t* has been eliminated by the development of forms in *-e* (*chante, chantes, chante*, for O F *chant, chanz, chant*) The tendency to preserve the same form of the stem as in the present indicative had often interfered with or obliterated the normal development of the final consonant, and had led to the generalization of one or other of the forms of the stem of the indicative *conoisse*, etc for **conosche*, etc (COGNOSCAM), *florisse* for **floresche* (FLORISCAM), the same influence accounts for later re-modellings *choie* for *chiee*, *dise* for *die* (cf XVI, 18), *conduise* for *conduie*, *prenne* for *prende*, *doive* for *deie*, *plaise* for *place*, *tienne* for *tiegne*

325 Subjunctive forms in -JAM (< -EAM, -IAM) show a transformation of the stem throughout the tense, similar to that of the 1st sing pres ind in -JO (§ 315) VALEAM > *vaille*, VALEAS > *vailles*, etc , SALIAM > *saille*, BULLIAM > *bouille*, TENEAM > *tiegne*, VENIAM > *viegne*, *ALIAM > *aille*, SAPIAM > *sache*, FACIAM > *face* > *fasse*, *POSSIAM (< POSSIM + *POTEAM) > *puisse* The number of such forms had been considerably reduced

in V.L by the substitution of -AM for -JAM (parallel with -O for -JO, cf § 283) V L DORMAM, MENTAM, MORDAM, SERVAM, SORTAM, etc , but a few new -JAM forms had developed. *COLLIAM (for COLLIGAM) > *cueille*, *FALLIAM (for FALLAM) > *faille*, *VOLEAM (for VELIM) > *vueille* While the etymological forms of the sing. pres ind (*vail*, *cueil*) were all eliminated with the exception of *puis*, the subjunctive forms (*vaille*, *cueille*) generally persisted The stem of the pres ind has been generalized in *tenir*, *venir*, and the stem of the 1st and 2nd pl pres ind has been carried over into the corresponding persons of the subjunctive in *valions*, *valiez*; *voulions*, *vouliez*, *allions*, *alliez* In the compound *prévaloir* the old subjunctive with *l'* (*prévaille*), which was still used in the seventeenth century, has completely disappeared before analogical *prévale*, etc

BJ and DJ were reduced to J, which appeared as *i* before mute *e*, in DEBEAM > *deie*, HABEAM > *aie*, RIDEAM > *rie*, VIDEAM > *veie*

In Western dialects and also in Picard, -JAM appears as *-ge* without palatalizing the preceding consonant (*muerge*, *venge*, *alge*, etc), thence the ending spread to other verbs. Subjunctive forms in *-ge* are found in Central French texts down to the fourteenth century, particularly in verbs with stems ending in *l*, *n*, *r* *alge*, *donge*, *parolge*, *prenge*, *muerge*, *tienge*, *vienge*

326 The following call for special comment

Aller presented in O F three different forms of the subjunctive *aille*, *alge*, and *voise* The latter is modelled on the 1st sing pres ind *vois* (§ 321) and continued in regular use in the sixteenth century

Donner possessed *doinse* (modelled on 1st sing pres ind *doins*), *donge*, *doigne* (< *DONIAM) and *done* (Mod F *donne*).

Prouver, *trouver*, and O F *rover*, also possessed in O F a subjunctive modelled on the 1st sing pres ind (*pruis*, *truis*, *ruis*) . *pruisse*, *truisse*, *ruisse*

Être O F *seie*, *seies*, *seit*, *seiens* (*seions*), *seiez*, *seient* continue *SIAM for C L. SIM, etc , with levelling of the stem of the

strong forms (*ei*) into the weak. *Seie* > *soie* > *soi*, which in the sixteenth century received paragogic *-s*, *seies* > *soies* > *sois*, the *e* disappearing as in the ending of the impf ind For *y* (= *ij*) in *soyons* (swajõ), *soyez*, cf § 319

Avoir O F *aie*, *aies*, *ait*, *aiens* (*aions*), *aiez*, *aient* continue **AJA* for C L HABEAM, etc , with levelling of the stem of the strong forms (*ai*) into the weak Beside *ait*, analogical *aie* arose and was commonly used in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries For *y* = *ij* in *ayons* (ɛjõ), *ayez*, cf § 319

Tenir and *venir* Beside the regular forms *tiegne* (< TENEAM), *viegne* (< VENIAM) (XII, 20; XVI, 68), used as late as the sixteenth century, O F also possessed forms in *-ge* (*tienge*, *vienge*) The modern forms *tienne*, *vienne*, modelled on the pres ind , date from the sixteenth century. Similarly *prendre*—*pregne* (XVI, 17), *prenge*, *prende*, *prenne*

Clore The *s* of the subjunctive forms (*close*, etc), like the *s* of obsolete indicative forms *closons*, *closez*, *closent*, is probably due to the influence of the old sigmatic perfect *closis* (CLAUSISTI), etc and the fem of the past participle *close* (CLAUSA)

Verbs in *-oyer*, *-uyer*, *-ayer*, cf § 319

IMPERATIVE

327 Of the Latin imperative, the 2nd sing alone survived in French, the 2nd pl being rendered by the 2nd pl pres ind

THE ENDINGS

Latin	O F	
-A	*-e*	CANTA > *chante*
-E -I	—	VIDE > *voi*
-C	*-i*	FAC > *fai*, DIC > *di*, DUC > *dui*

After cons + *l*, *r*, the vowels *e*, *i* persist as supporting *s* (*OPERI > *uevre*, *SUFFERI > *suefre*)

The frequent use of the imperative as an interjection probably accounts for the occasional disappearance of the consonant which became final through the loss of Latin -E, -I

(BIBE > *beif* > *boif* > *boi*, SERVI > *serf* > *ser*) and for the less common disappearance of *e* (< A) *lais(se)*, *gar(e)*

328 The further evolution of the imperative forms is conditioned by their close association with the 2nd sing pres ind and by the fact that in the 2nd pl. one form served for both ind and impv. As early as the thirteenth century analogical *-s* appears (*vois*, *bois*, *fais*, *dis*, *conduis*, *sers*, etc.); such forms as *voi* (XV, 11), *fai*, *tien* (III, 36), etc. still occur in seventeenth-century writers and survive in *voici*, *voilà* O.F. imperatives in *-e* take *s* less frequently (*chantes*, *offres*) and have not preserved it in Mod F except before *en* and *y* (*donnes-en à Jean*)

va (< VADE) maintains *a* owing to its constant use as a proclitic before a following infinitive (*va chasser*) The O F. analogical form *vas* persists (under the influence of *allons-y*, *allez-y*) before *y* if the latter is closely linked with it *vas-y*, but *va y mettre ordre*

SYNTAX OF THE IMPERATIVE

329 The hortative subjunctive was adopted as an imperative of the 3rd sing and 3rd pl It could in O F. be used without the conjunction *que* (XII, 103), but was often preceded by the expletives *car*, *or*, *si* The gradual extension of *que* may be attributed to the fact that the subjunctive is essentially, as its name implies, a subordinate mood, and the hortative subjunctive was therefore assimilated in form to a subordinate clause introduced by *que* (cf § 399) The use of the subjunctive for the imperative was in O F frequently extended from the third person to the 2nd sing and 1st and 2nd pl (cf a similar extension in Latin) The identity of form between *chantez* (ind) and *chantez* (O F subjv) doubtless facilitated this The subjunctive forms finally triumphed in the verbs *avoir*, *être*, *savoir*, *vouloir*, whence the O F. imperatives *aies*, *aiens*, *aiez*, *soies*, *soiens*, *soiez*, *saches*, *sachiens*, *sachiez*, *vueilles*, *voilliens*, *voilliez*, *-s* disappeared subsequently in *saches*, *vueilles*, *aies*, by analogy with the imperatives of *-er* verbs, but *soies* > *sois* (cf § 326), *voilliez* was re-modelled on *vueilles*, etc., whence Mod F *veuillez*; *sachons* for *sachions*

is due to the influence of the indicative; the remaining forms develop regularly, but there is a tendency to replace *veuille* and *veuillez* by *veux* and *voulez*.

330 In O.F. and as late as the sixteenth century the pronoun subject of the imperative is sometimes expressed (*E! reis celestes, tu nos i fai venir!* Alexis, 335) A negative command addressed to a single person was often expressed in O F. by means of the infinitive preceded by *ne*: '*Chantecler*', *ce li dist Renart*, '*Ne foïr pas, n'aies regart!*' (*Rom de Renart*, II, 305). This use of the infinitive has not survived. The modern use of the infinitive, positive and negative, to convey a general instruction or prohibition is probably due to ellipsis (*on est prié de*) *S'adresser au concierge*, (*je vous prie de*) *Ne pas faire cela* Various devices are employed to tone down the imperative as occasion demands (*Veuillez me donner ce livre! Voulez-vous me donner ce livre?*) The future is sometimes used, as in O F (*Vendredi chair ne mangeras*), often as a strong imperative (*Tu feras ce que je te dis!*)

IMPERFECT INDICATIVE

331. OLD FRENCH PARADIGMS

chanter	partir	fenir	valeir	beivre
chantoe	*partеie*	*fenisseie*	*valeie*	*beveie*
chantoes	*parteies*	*fenisseies*	*valeies*	*beveies*
chantout	*partеit*	*fenisseit*	*valeit*	*beveit*
chantiiens	*partiiens*	*fenissiiens*	*valiiens*	*beviiens*
chantiiez	*partiiez*	*fenissiiez*	*valiiez*	*beviiez*
chantoent	*parteient*	*fenisseient*	*valeient*	*beveient*

332 THE ENDINGS

Latin	O F	Latin	O.F
-ABAM	*-oe*	-ABAMUS	*-iiens*
-EBAM -IEBAM	*-eie* > *-oie*	-EBAMUS -IEBAMUS	
-ABAS	*-oes*	-ABATIS	*-iiez*
-EBAS -IEBAS	*-eies* > *-oies*	-EBATIS -IEBATIS	
-ABAT	*-out*	-ABANT	*-oent*
-EBAT -IEBAT	*-ei(e)t* > *-oit*	-EBANT -IEBANT	*-eient* > *-oient*

-ĒBAM > -ḛA in V L , whence *eie*, etc , which was the ending of all verbs except those in *-er*

-ĂBAM persists as -ABA in V L., whence on the one hand *eve*, etc., which is characteristic of Eastern dialects, and on the other the development *-aụe* > *-oụe* > *-oe*, *aụes* > *oụes* > *oes*, *-aụent* > *-oụent* > *-oent*, *aụet* > *oụ(e)t* > *out*, beside which *ot* appears (≠*ot* < *out* < HABUIT) But at an early date *-eie*, *-eies*, *-eit*, *-eient* were extended to *-er* verbs, the imperfect forms in *-oe* are still found in the thirteenth, and in Anglo-Norman in the fourteenth century

-ABAMUS, -ABATIS > * -EBAMUS, *-EBATIS (by weakening of A, which is here unaccented), and in common with original -EBAMUS, -EBATIS were reduced to *-EAMUS, *-EATIS, whence O F *i-iens*, *i-iez* For *i-iens* we find as early as the twelfth century *i-ions* (by analogy with the present), which finally displaces *i-iens* in the fourteenth These endings were originally disyllabic, but became monosyllabic in the thirteenth century (*-ions*, *-iez*) and are thenceforth identical with the corresponding endings of the present subjunctive, which were monosyllabic from the beginning The modern disyllabic pronunciation of *-ions*, *-iez* after cons + *l*, *r* (*ouvri-ons*, *mettri-ez*) is merely an instance of the general treatment of such a group (*ouvri-er*, *histri-on*), which dates from the early seventeenth century

-oie, *-oies*, *-oient*, which were originally disyllabic, became monosyllabic when *e* became mute in the course of the Middle Ages, *-eiet* had become contracted to *-eit* much earlier, whence regularly *-oit* The 1st sing *-ois* (with paragogic *-s*) appears in the sixteenth century For the phonetic change *oi* > *wẹ* > *ẹ* and the change *oi* to *ai* in orthography, see § 72

333 The stem remains invariable the accent being uniformly on the ending, there is no apophony The verb *être* alone calls for comment

Être, O F. *estre* The Latin imperfect forms ERAM, ERAS, ERAT, ERANT regularly gave O F *iere*, *ieres*, *ieret*, *ierent*, or, when unaccented, *ere*, *eres*, *eret*, *erent*, the forms *ieret*, *eret* being further reduced to *iert*, *ert* when used proclitically *Erens*,

ernez, which seldom occur, continue ERAMUS, ERATIS, with the normal termination of the imperfect This O F imperfect is almost entirely eliminated before the end of the thirteenth century by its rival *estere*, which already appears in the earliest texts, and which is probably taken from STABAM, just as *e(s)tant*, *e(s)té* are taken from STANDO, STATUM The fact that the form **estoe* (or **esteve*), which would represent the normal development of STABAM, never occurs may be explained by pre-literary change to *estere* (under the influence of *avere*, or on the model of *metre—metere*), cf Fouché, *op cit* p 414 The modern forms develop normally from O F *estere*, *esteres*, *este(e)t*, *estrens* (later *estrons*), *estrez* (later *estez*), *esterent*

FUTURE AND CONDITIONAL

334 The French future consists of the infinitive + the present indicative of HABEO (§ 281), contracted forms of the latter having become fused with the preceding infinitive in the pre-literary period In the same way a new tense, the future-in-the-past or conditional, had been created by a combination of the infinitive with contracted forms of the imperfect indicative of HABEO

THE ENDINGS

	Future			Conditional	
CL	VL	OF	CL	VL	OF
HABEO	AJO	*-ai*	HABEBAM	EA(M)	*-eie* > *-oie*
HABES	AS	*-as*	HABEBAS	EAS	*-eies* > *-oies*
HABET	AT	*-a(t)*	HABEBAT	EAT	*-eit* > *-oit*
HABEMUS	EMUS	*-ons*	HABEBAMUS	JAMUS	*-rions*
HABETIS	ETIS	*-eiz* > *-oiz*	HABEBATIS	JATIS	*-riez*
HABENT	AUNT	*-ont*	HABEBANT	EANT	*-eient* > *-oient*

For *-ons* replacing **-eins* (< -EMUS), see § 307.

-ez displaces *-eiz*, *-oiz* somewhat later (thirteenth century) than in the pres ind (§ 307), but the pronunciation *e* (< *we* < *oi*) in this tense (as distinct from *e* in the pres ind), which is noted by grammarians in the sixteenth century,

suggests that here the change from *-oiz* to *-ez* was in the first instance orthographic

The endings of the conditional show the same development as those of the impf ind (§ 332)

The stem

335 The development of the stem (infinitive) is identical in the future and the conditional The following remarks on the future therefore apply with equal force to the conditional

The adjunction of the contracted forms of HABEO, which bear the principal stress, had as a result the reduction of the vowels of the infinitives *-ĀRE*, *-ĒRE*, *-ĪRE* to atonic vowels, accordingly *e* and *i* are normally lost, and *a* is weakened to *ə* (§ 29) But under the influence of the infinitive and of the pres ind , the future has in many cases been re-modelled and may therefore present forms (*a*) with *-ir* intact (*partirai*) or (*b*) with the stem-vowel of the pres ind (*tiendrai*, *viendrai* for O F. *tendrai*, *vendrai*) or of both pres ind and infinitive (*boirai* for O F *bevrai*), in the latter case the identity of form may result from a re-modelling of both infinitive and future on the pres ind (*aimer*, *aimerai* for O F *amer*, *amerai*), or of the future and pres ind on the infinitive (*choirai*, *choit* for O F *cherrai*, *chiét*), or of all three (*vaincre*, *vaincrai*, *vaincs*). The re-modelling of the future on the infinitive may date from pre-literary times (*soffirai*, later *suffrai*, *lirai*, the future of inchoatives, cf §§ 286, 338) Some of the re-modelled forms disappeared after competing for a time with the regular forms *voirai* (beside *verrai*) survives only in compounds *pourvoirai*, *prévoirai*

336 *-ARE* verbs (1) The *ə* which results from unaccented *a* begins to be absorbed by a preceding vowel as early as the thirteenth century and has completely disappeared by the end of the sixteenth (*pri(e)rai*, *remerci(e)rai*, cf XVIII *a*, 12) After a diphthong it may still count as a syllable in seventeenth-century poets (*broyerai*) (2) After a single consonant *ə* remained in O F , with the following exceptions (*a*) after *r* it was sometimes lost, and such syncopated forms as *durrai*,

demorrai, jurrai exist side by side with the full forms *durerai, demorerai, jurerai* from the thirteenth until well into the seventeenth century, (*b*) after *n* it disappeared in *don(e)rai, men(e)rai*, which by assimilation became *dorrai, merrai*, the latter are still used in the seventeenth century, but then give way to *donnerai, mènerai* (re-modelled on the infinitive), which date from the fifteenth. A third form *derai* or *darai*, rarely used, goes back to *DARAJO (DARE + HABEO) Since the sixteenth century *e* is regularly mute after a single consonant, whence Mod F *appell(e)rai, lèv(e)rai, jett(e)rai, achèt(e)rai, mèn(e)rai, gèl(e)rai*. (3) After two consonants *e* is, in accordance with the 'loi des trois consonnes', pronounced in Mod F and (with few sporadic exceptions) in O F. The group cons + *r* often showed metathesis *entrerai* > *enterrai, delivrerai* > *deliverrai, mostrerai* > *mosterrai*; such forms continued to be used between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, but under the influence of the infinitive they gradually disappear before the normal forms *entrerai*, etc.

Aller derives its future (*irai*) from IRE + HABEO

Envoyer originally formed its future regularly (*envoyerai*, whence with loss of *e*, *envoirai* XIV, 18, XV, 19), but by analogy with *voir* (*voi . verrai . envoi enverrai*) the modern form *enverrai* arose in the fourteenth and finally triumphed in the seventeenth century.

Laisser O F *lairai* (*lairrai, larrai*) beside *laisserai* is not a contraction but the future of another verb, *laier* (< Germ lagan)

337. -ĒRE and -ĔRE verbs The loss of *e* brought *r* into contact with the preceding consonant or consonants The development of the resulting groups may be summarized as follows *n'r, l'r, z'r* (-SERE), *s''r* (-SCERE), *n''r* (-NCERE, -NGERE), *r''r* (-RGERE) regularly developed glide-consonants (§ 100). *tendrai*, later replaced by *tiendrai* (≠pres ind), *valdrai*, later *vaudrai*, *co(s)drai*, later *coudrai*, *paroi(s)trai*, later *paraîtrai*; *veintrai*, later replaced by *vaincrai*, *plaindrai*; *sourdrai t'r, d'r* after a vowel > *rr* > *r* (in spelling *rr* is sometimes maintained) *pourrai* (*POTERAJO), *verrai*, O F *crerai* (*CREDERAJO),

cherrai (*CADERAJO), *serrai* (*SEDERAJO) have been replaced by *croirai*, *choirai*, (*as*)*soirai* or (*as*)*seyerai* or (*as*)*siérai*, which are forms re-modelled on the infinitive and pres ind (but *déchoir* preserves the old future *décherrai*) After a consonant *t'r*, *d'r* remain intact: *mettrai*, *perdrai*, etc *k'r*, *g'r* after a vowel > *r'* > *ir* *trairai*, *conduirai*, *luirai*, *nuirai*, *construirai*, *dirai*, *plairai*, *tairai* (dialectal *plarrai*, *tarai* or *tarrai*) *r'r* > *rr* *courrai*, *acquerrai*, *conquerrai* *v'r* (Latin P'R, B'R, V'R) remains in O F and generally persists in Mod F *recevrai*, *devrai*, *vivrai*, etc , but *bevrai* has given place to *boirai* modelled on the infinitive *(H)ABERAJO gave rise to the two French forms *aurai* and *avrai*, the former developed as the result of the early loss of *e* when used as an auxiliary (cf PARAB(O)LA > PARAULA > *parole*), and definitely displaced normal O.F *avrai* in the sixteenth century *Saura* for *savra* (which disappeared about the same time) is due to the influence of *aura*

Être V L evidently possessed a form *ESSERAJO (formed on *ESSERE for ESSE), of which the regular development is *estrai* (III, 46) The development *ESSERAJO > *SERAJO > *serai* may be explained as due to aphæresis of *es-* in imitation of those forms of the verb which began with *s* (SUM, etc). The future *serai* was from the beginning the most commonly used form Alongside of *estrai* and *serai*, the Latin future (ERO) persisted in O F in the form *ier*, *iers*, *iert*, *iermes*, *ierent*, but had lost the 2nd pl and soon fell wholly into disuse The collateral forms *er*, *ers*, *ert*, *ermes*, *erent* show atonic development Under the influence of the imperfect *ere* (< ERAM), etc (cf § 333), these forms sometimes took a final *-e*

Faire *Ferai* (for **fairai*) presupposes a form *FARAJO formed on *FARE The latter probably represents a reduction of FACERE used proclitically (e g before an infinitive) [1]

338. -IRE verbs. Normally *i* disappears and the resulting group develops as in -ĒRE, -ĔRE verbs *vendrai*, since replaced by *viendrai* (≠pres ind), *mourrai*, *faudrai*, O F. *eistrai* (inf *eissir* < EXIRE), O F *orrai* (*AUDIRAJO), but if cons + *l*, *r* precedes, *i* persists in the form of a supporting *e* O F *ovrerai*,

[1] This use also accounts for the later reduction of *a* to *e*

ofrerai, *sofrerai* (whence by metathesis the collateral forms *overrai*, *oferrai*, *soferrai*) But in most cases the regular forms have been replaced by forms re-modelled on the infinitive *ferrai*, *jourai*, *hairai*, *guérirai*, *ouvrirai*, *offrirai*, *souffrirai*. In *cueillerai*, *saillerai*, *bouillerai*, *l'* was restored by analogy with other parts of the verb, and *e* was introduced as a supporting vowel to preserve *l'* intact, but as late as the seventeenth century there was hesitation between these forms and *cueillirai*, *saillirai*, *bouillirai* *cueillerai* and *bouillirai* have triumphed, while both *saillirai* and *saillerai* persist, the former in the sense 'to spurt', the latter in the sense 'to protrude' (compounds show only *-ir* *tressaillirai*, *assaillirai*)

In the case of inchoative verbs the re-modelling of the future on the infinitive had taken place in pre-literary times (except *garrai*, *trarrai*, later *guérirai*, *trahirai*), and later accessions to the inchoative class likewise maintain the characteristic vowel *i* *bénirai*, *croupirai*, *emplirai*, *enfourai*, *engloutirai*, *nourrirai*, *resplendirai*, *-vertirai*, similarly verbs which formerly hesitated between inchoative and simple (cf § 291) *dormirai*, *servirai*, *sortirai*, *vêtirai*

Faillir and its doublet *falloir* have regularly a common future *faudrai*, but *faillirai* is sometimes used as a future of *faillir*.

For the future of *courir*, *-quérir*, *tenir*, infinitives which are not derived from Latin -IRE forms, see § 337

PAST DEFINITE

The Past Definite continues the Latin perfect, of which there were six types three in which the tonic accent fell uniformly on the ending (Weak Perfects), three in which the V L accent fell on the stem in the first and third person singular and in the third person plural (Strong Perfects).

(*a*) WEAK PERFECTS

339 In V L the perfect in -ĒVI disappeared, leaving weak perfects in -ĀVI and -ĪVI, to these must be added a new weak perfect in -DEDI, created in the V L period (cf § 343)

OLD FRENCH PARADIGMS

chanter	dormir
chantai	*dormi*
chantas	*dormis*
chantat	*dormi(t)*
chantames	*dormimes*
chantastes	*dormistes*
chanterent	*dormirent*

340 THE ENDINGS

CANTARE	chanter		DORMIRE	dormir	
C L	V L	O F	C L	V L	O F
-AVI	-AI	*-ai*	-IVI	-II	*-i*
-AVISTI	-ASTI	*-as*	-IVISTI	-ISTI	*-is*
-AVIT	-AUT	*-at*	-IVIT	-IT	*-i(t)*
-AVIMUS	-AMUS	*-ames*	-IVIMUS	-IMUS	*-imes*
-AVISTIS	-ASTIS	*-astes*	-IVISTIS	-ISTIS	*-istes*
-AVERUNT	-ARUNT	*-erent*	-IVERUNT	-IRUNT	*-irent*

The contraction of -AVISTI, -AVISTIS, -AVERUNT to -ASTI, -ASTIS, -ARUNT dates from Classical times and is due mainly to analogy, but perhaps also to the tendency to keep the accent on the characteristic vowel throughout, -AVIMUS and -AVI were reduced considerably later, -AVIT persisted until the end of the V L period, when v, being brought into contact with the following consonant, became *u*

The elimination of v had taken place regularly in -IVI, -IVISTI, -IVIT, -IVISTIS, because here it was preceded and followed by the same vowel, the two *i*'s thus brought into contact combined, -I(V)ERUNT gave place to *-IRUNT through levelling of the characteristic vowel *i*, -IVIMUS was not reduced until the late V L period

341. (1) *-ai* persists as a diphthong, which was reduced in the twelfth century to *ę* and before the end of the O F period had become *e*, it is sometimes written *é* as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

-is begins to appear for *-i* towards the end of the Middle Ages and triumphs in the seventeenth century, *-s* is here a pure graphy on the analogy of such forms as *mis*, *pris*, *fis*, where *-s* is regular

(2, 3) The loss of final *t* of -AST(I) and the substitution of *et* for **ot* (< *AUT) are probably due to the influence of *ai*, *as*, *at* (pres ind of *avoir* and endings of the new Future), if this be so, *-is* for *-ist* (< -ISTI) might be attributed to analogy with *-as* In the thirteenth century *t* began to be restored in spelling in *-it* (pronounced in liaison), but not in *-a* (< *-at*)

(4) *-ames*, *-imes* Here the final vowel persists in the form of *ə* even after the reduction of the group *v'm* which it originally supported -AV(I)MUS, -IV(I)MUS The existence of this group (*v'm*) also prevented the passage of tonic *a* to *ai* (cf MANU > *main*) The *s* of *-asmes*, *-ismes*, which appears in the thirteenth century, is a pure graphy due to the influence of *-astes*, *-istes*, and is perpetuated in Mod F by the circumflex accent (*-âmes*, *-îmes*)

(5) *-astes*, *-istes* owe their *e* to the influence of *-ames*, *-imes*, coupled with the tendency to avoid such an anomalous ending as the phonetic development -AST(I)S > *-az* and -IST(I)S > *-iz* would have created

(6) For *-erent*, we find regularly after a palatal or palatalized consonant *-ierent* (*mangierent*, *traitierent*), which is later reduced to *-erent* (cf § 75)

342 All French verbs in *-er* form their past definite in *-ai*, except that the past definite of O F *ester* (< STARE) continued *STETUI (C L STETI), whence O F *estui*, *esteus*, *estut*, *esteumes*, *esteustes*, *esturent*, and *estoi*, *estous*, *estout*, *estoumes*, *estoustes*, *estourent* Compounds of STARE that were no longer recognized as such formed *-ai* past definites *cou(s)tai* (*CONSTAVI), *pre(s)tai* (*PRAESTAVI), but *rester* and *arre(s)ter* hesitated between *restui*, *arre(s)tui*, and *restai*, *arre(s)tai*

All verbs in *-ir* now form their past definite in *-is*, whether they continue Latin verbs in -ĪRE with perfect in -ĪVI or originally showed a perfect of a different type (in -SI, in -UI, in -DEDI) The Mod F exceptions (which are discussed be-

low) are *courir*, *mourir*, *tenir*, *venir*, compounds of *quérir* Certain verbs show hesitation in O F between *-ai* and *-is* (*cueillai—cueillis*), but in the majority of cases this hesitation is due to the introduction of dialectal forms

For those verbs in *-re* which in Mod F show past definites in *-is*, see § 354

343 A new weak perfect arose in V L through the transformation of perfects in -DIDIT under the influence of DĔDIT (the reduplicated perfect of DARE), whence V L CREDĘ́DI, PERDĘ́DI, etc Such forms are attested in L L texts By analogy -DĘDIT was early extended to other verbs whose stem ended in *d*, whence V L RESPONDĘ́DIT, DEFENDĘ́DIT, CADĘ́DIT, RESPLENDĘ́DIT, etc The following paradigm indicates their development in O F

V L	O F
VENDĘ́DI	*vendi*
VEN(DE)DÍSTI	*vendis*
VENDĘ́DIT	*vendiét*
VEN(DE)DÍMUS	*vendimes*
VEN(DE)DÍSTIS	*vendistes*
VENDĘ́(DE)RUNT	*vendiérent*

This form of the perfect was extended to other verbs in the O F period (*rompre—rompiét*, *vivre—vesquiét*, *cou(s)dre—cosiét*) But under the influence of the remaining persons (*vendi*, etc) the 3rd sing and 3rd pl were re-modelled (*vendit*, *vendirent*), and such perfects were thus completely assimilated to the weak *-is* class Subsequently *vesquit* (*vivre*) joined the *-us* class (§§ 348 *c*, 355), whence Mod F *vécut*

(*b*) STRONG PERFECTS

344 The C L strong perfects are fairly well maintained in O F , but (quite apart from regular phonetic changes) they have undergone many analogical transformations These began in the V.L period and extend down to Modern French, making their influence felt in varying degrees in the different dialects of the 'langue d'oil' In the space at our disposal

we can do little more than indicate the more important developments reflected in the modern forms For a detailed account the reader may consult P Fouché's *Le verbe français* and the more general treatment in Kr. Nyrop's *Grammaire historique*, Vol II, both of which we have utilized extensively

. 345 Classical Latin presented four types of strong perfects (1) Perfects in -I (VENI), (2) Perfects in -SI (SCRIPSI), (3) Perfects in -UI (SAPUI), (4) Reduplicated Perfects (MOMORDI). In V L the passage from one type to another is frequent, changes being provoked by analogies of various kinds.

(1) Many -I perfects (and several reduplicated perfects) passed into the -UI class, a new perfect being formed to correspond to the past participle on the analogy of HABUI—HABITUM, RAPUI—RAPTUM, DOCUI—DOCTUM, etc Thus BIBI, CREDIDI, CECIDI, CUCURRI, FEFELLI, RECEPI, LEGI gave way to *BIBUI, *CREDUI, *CADUI, *CURRUI, *FALLUI, *RECEPUI, *LEGUI, under the influence of BIBITUM, CREDITUM, *CADITUM, *CURRITUM, *FALLITUM, RECEPTUM, LECTUM (§ 362) MOVUI is regular, the V of MOVI being a graphy for VU, and by analogy *CO(G)NOVUI, *CREVUI, *PAVUI replaced COGNOVI, CREVI, PAVI (PASCERE) *STETUI for STETI is due to the influence of JACUI, with which it is semantically associated MORTUUS SUM was rendered by *MORUI, NATUS SUM by *NASCUI COLLEGI joined the weak -ĪVI class A few -I perfects joined the weak -DEDI class (*FUNDĘDI for FUDI)

Other -I perfects and reduplicated perfects joined the -SI (sigmatic) class, being re-modelled under the influence (*a*) of the pres ind *ATTANXI, *FRANXI, *PUNXI (under the influence of TANGIT, FRANGIT, PUNGIT) replace ATTIGI, FREGI, PUPUGI, or (*b*) of the past participle *ELEXI, *MORSI, *OCCISI, *PRE(N)SI, *REDEMPSI, *SESSI (under the influence of ELECTUM, MORSUM, OCCISUM, PREHENSUM, REDEMPTUM, SESSUM) replace ELEGI, MOMORDI, OCCIDI, PREHENDI, REDEMI, SEDI, *QUAESI probably continues the primitive Latin form, which V L preserved, while C L replaced it by QUAESIVI

(2) -SI perfects generally persisted

(3) Of the -UI perfects, a certain number joined the -I class through loss of *w* (< *u* in hiatus) after a group of consonants or a double consonant (cf § 348), or through loss of *w* by dissimilation after initial *v* (= w) VALUIT > *VALIT, VOLUIT > *VOLIT TENUI early gave way to *TENI (≠VENI), cf § 356

(4) The reduplicated perfects entirely disappeared some joined the -I, -SI or -UI perfects, PEPENDI, TETENDI joined the weak -DEDI class, *PENDĘ́DI, *TENDĘ́DI

346. OLD FRENCH PARADIGMS

-I PERFECTS		-SI PERFECTS	
Latin	O F	Latin	O F
VÉNI	*vin*	DÍXI	*dis*
VENÍSTI	*venís*	DIXÍSTI	*desís*
VÉNIT	*vint*	DÍXIT	*dist*
VENÍMUS	*venímes*	DIXÍMUS	*desímes*
VENÍSTIS	*venístes*	DIXÍSTIS	*desístes*
VÉNERUNT	*víndrent*	DÍXERUNT	*distrent*

-UI PERFECTS			
Latin	O F	Latin	O F
SÁPUI	*soi*	PARÚI	*parúi*
SAPUÍSTI	*soûs*	PARÚISTI	*parús*
SÁPUIT	*sout*	PARÚIT	*parút*
SAPUÍMUS	*soûmes*	PARÚIMUS	*parúmes*
SAPUÍSTIS	*soûstes*	PARÚISTIS	*parústes*
SÁPUERUNT	*sourent*	PARÚERUNT	*parúrent*

The Latin forms of VENI, DIXI, SAPUI are here given with their V L accentuation, which differed from the Classical in the following respects the 1st pl came to be accented on the ending by analogy with the 2nd pl ; the 3rd pl preserved in V L the primitive Latin accentuation '-ERUNT, which C L had abandoned for -ÉRUNT (≠-ĒRE), in perfects of the SAPUI type, *w* (< *u* in hiatus) was carried into the 3rd pl and the accent was thrown back on the preceding syllable For PARUI, which is here given with its late V.L. (North Gaul) accentuation, see § 348 (*c*)

THE ENDINGS

-I AND -SI

347 (1) Final ī disappears regularly, but not until after it has made its influence felt on the vowel of the stem (cf § 37) Final *s*, which remains regularly in the -SI perfects, is by analogy later extended to the -I perfects (*vins*, etc)

(2) -ĺSTĪ under the influence of final ī becomes -*ıs*, the final *t* disappearing by analogy with the weak verbs (§ 341).

(3) -IT. The loss of unaccented *ı* brings *t* into contact with the preceding consonant and, thus supported, it remains

(4) -ĺMUS gives -*ımes* (for *-*eıns*) by analogy with -ISTIS > -*ıstes*

(5) -ĺSTIS > -*ıstes*, with *ı* (for *e*) under the influence of the 2nd sing ; unaccented *e* is maintained by analogy with -*astes*, -*ıstes* of the weak perfects

(6) '-ERUNT Unaccented *e* disappears and the resulting group consonant + *r* develops a glide-consonant

-UI

348 Unaccented *u* in hiatus with following *ı*, *e* regularly becomes a semi-consonant *w*, the further development of which may be summarized as follows

(*a*) After a group of consonants or a double consonant *w* disappeared (cf §§ 84, 103) The loss of *u* (= w) tended to create confusion between the 3rd sing perf and the 3rd sing pres in forms like CONS(U)IT, *NASC(U)IT, *RUMP(U)IT, *REPENT(U)IT, *VINC(U)IT, *VERT(U)IT, this fact together with the resemblance which these perfects offered in their ending-accented forms with the -DEDI type caused them to be completely assimilated to the latter, whence O F *cosıét*, *nasquıét*, *repentıét*, *rompıét*, *venquıét*, *vertıét* They later accompany the -DEDI verbs into the weak -*ıs* class (§ 343)

(*b*) After a single consonant other than a nasal or a liquid, *w* is either attracted to the preceding accented vowel (§ 350) or combines with a following accented *ı* to give *u* (*so-us*, *so-umes*, *so-ustes*).

(*c*) After a single nasal or liquid consonant, *w* persists and, under the influence of *fui, fus, fut, fumes, fustes, furent*, is transformed into accented *u* (type *parui*) Thus arises a new weak perfect with the characteristic vowel *u*, which is later extended by analogy to other verbs, cf Fouché, p 305

Note that perfects like VOLUI, VALUI, with initial v, had joined the -I class; cf § 345 (3)

The stem

-I AND -SI PERFECTS

349 In the 1st sing , under the influence of final ī, the stem-vowel ẹ̄ (< ĭ or ē) becomes *i*, which is by analogy extended to the other stem-accented forms (3rd sing and 3rd pl), whence *vin, tin, dis, fis* (with analogical *s* for regular *z*), etc By analogy with such forms and forms like *mis* (< MISI), *quis* appears for **quies* (< * QUAESI)

-UI PERFECTS

350 The combination of *w* (in the form of semi-vocalic u̯) with the vowel of the stem, in cases where the latter ended in a single consonant other than nasal or liquid (cf § 348 *b, c*), gave the following results in the 1st sing

a + u̯ > *o* HABUI > *oi*, PLACUI > *ploi*, SAPUI > *soi*, TACUI > *toi*, *PAVUI > *poi*, but if a palatal precedes, *a* + u̯ > *e* + *u* > *u* JACUI > *jui*, *CADUI > *chui*

e + u̯ > *u* DEBUI > *dui*, *STETUI > *estui*

o + u̯ > *u* NOCUI > *nui*, COGNOVI > *conui*, but if *p* precedes, *o* + u̯ > *o* POTUI > *poi*

In the 3rd sing and 3rd pl *w* has the same effect on the stem-vowel, but being itself brought into contact with the following consonant (by the loss of the unaccented vowel), it becomes *u* (*out, ourent, plout, plourent*, etc), which is absorbed by a preceding *u*, whence *jut, jurent, dut, durent*; *conut, conurent*, etc In the weak forms (2nd sing , 1st pl , 2nd pl) *a* becomes *o* under the influence of following *w* (*so-us, so-umes, so-ustes*), *e* and *o* persist (*de-us* < DEBUISTI, *no-us* < NOCUISTI).

351 FUI stands apart from the remaining -UI perfects in that the accent falls on the stem throughout, and the resulting uniform *u* has had an important bearing on the development of the new weak perfect in *-us* (type *parui*, § 348 *c*)

Latin	O F
FUI	*fui*
FUISTI	*fus*
FUIT	*fut*
FUIMUS	*fumes*
FUISTIS	*fustes*
FUERUNT	*furent*

Later the 1st sing *fui* gave place to analogical *fus* The collateral O F forms *feus*, etc are due to the influence of the perfect of *avoir* *eüs*, etc for older *ous*, etc (§ 350)

352 The following classified list contains the commoner strong perfects as they survived in O F

I -I perfects

voir—vi(s), *ve(d)is*, *vit*, *ve(d)imes*, *ve(d)istes*, *vi(d)rent*

tenir, which in V L passed from the -UI to the -I class (§ 345), is conjugated like *venir*

faire—fis, *fesis*, *fist*, *fesimes*, *fesistes*, *firent*

II -SI perfects

ceindre—ceins, *ceinsis*, *ceinst*, *ceinsimes*, *ceinsistes*, *ceinstrent* Similarly *plaindre*, *joindre*, *esteindre*, *feindre*, *peindre*, *teindre*, *ataindre—atains* (< *ATTANXI for ATTIGI, § 345), *fraindre—frains* (< *FRANXI for FREGI, § 345), *poindre—poins* (< *PUNXI for PUPUGI, § 345)

(con)duire—duis, *duisis*, *duist*, *duisimes*, *duisistes*, *duistrent* Similarly all compounds of *duire*, compounds of *-struire* (*construisis*, *destruisis*, etc), *cuire—cuis*, *tordre—tors*, *(re)soldre—sols* (< *SOLSI for SOLUI), *mordre—mors* (< *MORSI for MOMORDI), *(con)clure—(con)clus*

prendre (the V L perfect of which was *PRESI for PREHENDI, cf § 345 (1))—*pris*, *presis*, *prist*, *presimes*, *presistes*, *pristrent* Similarly *metre—mis*, *rire—ris*, *seoir—sis* (< *SẹSSI for SEDI ≠SESSUM; § 345), *escrire—escris*, *querre* (*quérir*)—*quis*

Verbs which have disappeared or survive as archaisms in Mod F. *traire—trais*, *ardoir—ars*, *clore—clos*, *despire—despis*, *raembre—raens*, *espardre—espars*, (*re*)*manoir* (*maindre*)—(*re*)*més*, *terdre—ters*, *rere—res*, *occire—occis*

III -UI perfects

savoir type *avoir—oi*, *plaisir* (*plaire*)—*ploi*, *taisir* (*taire*)—*toi*, *pooir* (*pouvoir*)—*poi*, *paistre—poi* (< *PAVUI for PAVI).

devoir—dui, *deus*, *dut*, *deumes*, *deustes*, *durent* Similarly *boivre—bui*, *reçoivre* (*recevoir*)—*reçui*, *lire—lui* (< *LEGUI for LEGI), *gésir—jui*, *ester—estui* (< *STETUI for STETI), *croire—crui* (< *CREDUI for CREDIDI), *croistre—crui* (< *CREVUI for CREVI)

nuisir (*nuire*)—*nui* (<NOCUI), *nous*, *nut*, *noumes*, *noustes*, *nurent* Similarly *mouvoir—mui*, *conoistre—conui*, *plouvoir—plui*, and the O F impersonal verb *estouvoir—estut* 'it was necessary'

paroir type *courre* (*courir*)—*courui*, *moldre—moului*, *mourir—mourui*, *douloir—doului* Cf § 348 (*c*)

For *estre—fui*, see § 351

LATER DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRONG PERFECTS

-I AND -SI PERFECTS

353 Under the influence of *virent* and *firent*, the 3rd pl. forms in *-istrent* give way to forms in *-irent*, the latter triumphing in the sixteenth century *assirent*, *dirent*, *mirent*, etc

Under the influence of *veis* (< *vedis* < VIDISTI), *veimes*, *veistes*, there arose early in the twelfth century, beside *fesis*, *fesimes*, *fesistes*, forms without *s* *feis*, *feimes*, *feistes*, and somewhat later the same influence caused the elimination of *s* in the *-si* perfects, whence *deis*, *deimes*, *deistes*, etc, which became general in the thirteenth century The reduction of unaccented *e* in hiatus gave a perfect with the accent uniformly on the stem. *dis*, *dis*, *di*(*s*)*t*, *di*(*s*)*mes* (with *s* ≠ *distes*), *di*(*s*)*tes*, *dirent*, although *e* is often maintained in spelling as late as the sixteenth century Similarly developed *mis*, *pris*, (*ac*)*quis* (*con*)*quis*, *ris*, (*as*)*sis*

This levelling out, which was in its effect a generalization of the strong form of the stem, was extended to *vins* and *tins*,

including the elimination at a later date of *d* in the 3rd pl , *vinrent* and *tinrent* do not, however, completely displace *vindrent* and *tindrent* until the end of the seventeenth century

354 In other verbs (generally less used) the influence of perfects of the -īvi class facilitated the generalization of weak (ending-accented) forms, the result being a weak perfect identical with the -īvi (*dormir*) type· *condui*, *conduist*, *conduistrent* are re-modelled on *conduisis*, *conduismes*, *conduistes*. This applies to all verbs in *-uire* *cuis(is)*, *déduis(is)*, *séduis(is)*, *réduis(is)*, *construis(is)*, *détruis(is)*, *luis(is)*, *nuis(is)*, etc Where such verbs presented a stem at variance with that of the pres. ind , the generalization of the weak form was accompanied by a re-modelling of the stem on that of the weak forms of the pres ind (*dormons*, *dormez*) and of other tenses, again on the analogy of the -īvi (*dormir*) type, which presents the same stem in the perfect as in the present This applies to verbs in *-eindre*, *-aindre*, *-oindre*, *-ondre*, *-ordre* *ceignis*, *peignis*, *feignis*, *teignis*, *éteignis*, *atteignis*, *éteignis*, *enfreignis*, *plaignis*, *joignis*, *oignis*, *pondis*, *tordis*, *mordis*, for O F perfects *ceins*, *peins*, etc , cf § 352, also to *crembre* (Mod F *craindre*)—*craignis* for O F *crens*, and to *écrire*—*écrivis* for O F *escris*

conclus and *exclus* joined the weak perfects in *-u* (type *parus*)

resous, *absous*, *dissous* were re-modelled under the influence of the past participles *résolu*, *absolu*, *dissolu*, whence *résolus*, *absolus*, *dissolus*, of which the two latter have fallen into disuse

-UI PERFECTS

355 The weak forms show weakening of pre-tonic *o*, *e* in hiatus to *ə*, and the latter is subsequently absorbed by the following *u* *soüs* > *seus* > *sus*, *soumes* > *seumes* > *sûmes*, *soustes* > *seustes* > *sûtes*, note that the perfect of *avoir* keeps the spelling *eu* (e g *eûmes* = u m) By analogy *u* is introduced in the 3rd sing. and 3rd pl of the SAPUI—*soi* type, whence *sut*, *surent*, *(e)ut*, *(e)urent*, and the 1st sing is re-modelled on the 2nd and 3rd sing (with final *s* on the analogy of the *-si* perfects), whence *sus*, *(e)us* for older *soi*, *oi*, etc In the 1st pl *-s-* is introduced by analogy with the 2nd pl (*susmes*, Mod F.

sûmes ≠ *sustes*, Mod F *sûtes*) The result is a perfect accented on the stem throughout and presenting the characteristic vowel *u* *sus*, (*e*)*us*, *plus*, *tus*, *pus*, *dus*, *bus*, *reçus*, *lus*, *crus*, *crûs* (with circumflex accent to distinguish it from *crus*), *mus*, *connus*, *plus*, and the obsolete forms *pus* (*paître*) and *jus* (*gésir*)

With the substitution of *nuire* for *nuisir*, the perfect of this verb was re-modelled on the analogy of verbs in *-uire* *nuisis*, *nuisis*, etc for O F. *nuis*, *nuisis*, etc

For *na*(*s*)*quis*, *vainquis*, *repentis*, *rompis*, *-vertis*, *cousis*, see § 343, *vesquis* > *ve*(*s*)*cus* ≠ the past participle *ve*(*s*)*cu*

356 *Vouloir* The perfect of this verb illustrates most adequately the multiplicity of analogical changes in the evolution of strong perfects The reduction of *ui* to *i* (§ 345 (3)) led to the following paradigm (with *o* levelled out) *voil* (< *VOLI[1]), *volis*, *volt*, *volimes*, *volistes*, *voldrent*, whence with re-modelling of the strong forms on the weak *volis*, *volis*, *volit*, *volimes*, *volistes*, *volirent* Beside these there existed a sigmatic perfect (*VOLSI) *vols*, *volsis*, *volst*, *volsimes*, *volsistes*, *volstrent*, whence with levelling *volsis*, *volsis*, *volsit*, *volsimes*, *volsistes*, *volsirent* The sigmatic *vols*, *volsis*, etc was the form most commonly used in the later Middle Ages, but all four of these O F perfects gave way in the sixteenth century to the modern *voulus*, etc , which is a re-modelling (dating from the fourteenth century) of *voil*, *volis*, *volt*, etc. under the influence of the past participle *voulu*

Valoir The reduction of VALUI to *VALI (§ 345 (3)) should have given a paradigm *vail*, *valis*, etc , but O F offers *valui* (later *valus*), *valus*, *valut*, *valumes*, *valustes*, *valurent*, which is probably due to the analogy of *chaloir* and other verbs of the *paroir* type

Lire The sigmatic perfect *lis* (< *LEXI), *lesis*, etc is displaced in the fifteenth century by *lus*, *lui*, *lut*, *lu*(*s*)*mes*, *lu*(*s*)*tes*, *lurent*, which goes back to *LEGUI, cf § 345 (1) Similarly *élire*

[1] The change *VOLI > *voil* is irregular, unless we postulate an intermediate stage *volĭ* resulting from the use of *voli* before a word beginning with a vowel (Fouché, p 271).

357 The aspect and constitution of the strong perfects have thus been completely altered. the alternation of strong and weak forms has been eliminated, leaving in Modern French either perfects with a characteristic stem-vowel uniformly accented (*acquis*, *assis*, *eus*, *bus*, etc) or weak perfects of the *-is* and *-is* types (*résolus*, *conclus*, *conduisis*, etc)

IMPERFECT SUBJUNCTIVE

The Latin imperfect subjunctive (CANTAREM) disappeared, and its functions were taken over by the Pluperfect Subjunctive (CANTAVISSEM)

358 OLD FRENCH PARADIGMS

Latin	O F	Latin	O.F
CANTA(VI)SSEM	*chantasse*	DORMI(VI)SSEM	*dormisse*
CANTA(VI)SSES	*chantasses*	DORMI(VI)SSES	*dormisses*
CANTA(VI)SSET	*chantast*	DORMI(VI)SSET	*dormist*
CANTA(VI)SSEMUS	*chantissons*	DORMI(VI)SSEMUS	*dormissons*
CANTA(VI)SSETIS	*chantisseiz*	DORMI(VI)SSETIS	*dormisseiz*
CANTA(VI)SSENT	*chantassent*	DORMI(VI)SSENT	*dormissent*

THE ENDINGS

359 The impf subjv endings of verbs with -DEDI perfects do not differ from those of *dormir* Normally they should have given forms in *-esse* *PERDEDISSEM (for C L PERDIDISSEM) > *perdesse*, *-isse* is due to the influence of verbs of the *dormir* type The same influence accounts for the *i* of impf subjunctives corresponding to strong -I and -SI perfects *fesisse* (FECĪSSEM), *desisse* (DIXĪSSEM)

The impf subjv of verbs with strong -UI perfects shows the same fusion of *u* with following accented *i* as in the perfect (§ 348 *b*), whence the paradigm *parusse*, *parusses*, *parust*, *parussons*, *parusseiz*, *parussent*

The contracted forms in -ASSEM, -ISSEM date from Classical times

The preservation of unaccented *e* in the 2nd sing. is due to the tendency to avoid the fusion of flexional *s* with the

preceding *s*, and it was carried thence into the 1st sing. by analogy, on the model of the pres subjv *-e* (<-AM) beside *-es* (<-AS).

Analogical *-ons* (§ 307) appears from the beginning of the O F period, but beside it *-iens* is found in the twelfth century (cf x, 30), and later *-ions*, which triumphs in the fifteenth (cf § 323), *-eiz* (later *-oiz*) gives place to *-ez* and finally *-iez*, as in the pres subjv (§ 323)

The *i* of *-issons*, *-isseiz* (<-A(VI)SSEMUS, -A(VI)SSETIS) is difficult to explain M Fouché (p 332) assumes a weakening of *a* to *e*, followed by dissimilation *e—e* > *i—e* (CANTASSEMUS > *CANTESSEMUS > **chantisseins—chantissons*), but there seems to be no parallel for such a dissimilation of counterfinal *ə* (<A) before tonic *ẹ* Occasionally *i* appears by analogy in other persons than the 1st pl and 2nd pl in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Levelling out of the characteristic vowel *a* gave *-assions*, *-assiez*, which first appear about 1500 but do not finally triumph until the beginning of the seventeenth century

THE STEM

360 The stem of the impf subjv. shows the same form as the perfect indicative (the weak form of the stem in the case of O F strong perfects) and shares its later transformations O F *veisse*, *venisse*, *tenisse*, *presisse*, *conduisisse*, *plaisisse*, *desisse*, *fesisse*, *ousse*, *deusse*, *coneusse*, *parusse* (beside perf 2nd sing *veis*, etc) give place to Mod F *visse*, *vinsse*, *tinsse*, *prisse*, *conduisisse*, *plaignisse*, *disse*, *fisse*, *eusse*, *dusse*, *connusse*, *parusse* (beside *vis*, *vins*, *tins*, etc)

To *voil* (*volis*), *vols* (*volsis*) correspond the subjunctives *volisse*, *volsisse* respectively, both replaced in Mod F. by *voulusse*

PAST PARTICIPLE

361 Classical Latin possessed strong forms in -SUM, -TUM and weak forms in -ĀTUM, -ĒTUM, -ĪTUM, -ŪTUM Vulgar Latin shows the same types, with the exception of -ĒTUM, which disappeared together with the verbs in question or their

passage to the -ĪRE class COMPLERE gives place to *COMPLIRE, whence *COMPLÍTU (> (*ac*)*compli*) for COMPLÉTUM But analogical re-modellings had completely altered the original distribution and had created many collateral forms [1]

VULGAR LATIN CHANGES

362 -SUM received accessions from the -TUM class

CL	VL.	OF
ABSCONDITUM	ABSCONSU	*ascons*
MONITUM	MONSU	(*se*)*mons* (cf Mod F *semonce*)
PERDITUM	PERSU	*pers*
POSITUM	POSU	*pos*
QUAESITUM	QUAESU	*quis* (Mod F *acquis*, *requis*)
SURRECTUM	SURSU	*sors* (cf Mod F *ressource*, *source*)
TORTUM	TORSU	*tors* (Mod F *fil tors*, *soie torse*)

and from the -UTUM class

SOLUTUM	SOLSU	*sols* (cf § 370)
VOLUTUM	VOLSU	*vols*, *vous* (cf Mod F *voussure*, *voussoir*)

Losses consist in re-modellings in -ĪTUM and -ĬTUM (-ŪTUM)

-TUM received a number of accessions, thanks to re-modellings under the influence of those -ĒRE, -ĔRE verbs which had participles in '-ĪTUM (HABERE—HABITUM, CREDERE —CREDITUM).

CL	VL	French fossilized forms
FALSUM	FÁLLITU	*faute*, *défaut*
FISSUM	FÍNDITU	*fente*
MOTUM	MÓVITU	*meute*
PENSUM	PÉNDITU	*pente*
TENTUM	TÉNDITU	*tente*

The new forms *FALLITU, etc were later replaced by analogical re-modellings in -ÚTU(M) *fallu*, etc A number of

[1] For the following account (§§ 362–70) we have drawn extensively upon Fouché, pp 345–76

-TUM forms passed to the -ĪTUM, -SUM classes, or directly to the -ŪTUM class

363 -ĀTUM presents no gains or losses in V L

-ĪTUM The number of -ĪTUM forms was greatly increased by re-modelling (on the infinitive) of the past participles of almost all those -ĪRE verbs which presented forms in -TUM, SALTUM > *SALĪTU formed on SALIRE, or in -SUM SENSUM > *SENTĪTU on SENTIRE, VERSUM > *VERTITU on *VERTIRE COLLECTUM joined this class as the result of the re-modelling of COLLIGERE (§ 315), whence *cueillir—cueilli* VESTĪTUM joined the -UTUM class

-ŪTUM, which in C L was confined to verbs whose stem ended in U (CONSUERE, etc), was extended to a large number of verbs with participles in -SUM and -TUM The re-modelling began with those verbs which had -UI perfects (or developed them in V L), in the proportion CONSUI CONSUTUM -UI. *-UTUM The first of the -UI verbs to be affected were those which presented a past participle in -ĪTUM, whence *DEBŪTU, *HABŪTU, *MOLŪTU, *PARŪTU, *PLACŪTU, *BIBŪTU, *VALŪTU, *NOCŪTU, or had developed it in the Vulgar Latin period (§ 362) *FALLŪTU, *MOVŪTU, *CURRŪTU, *JACŪTU, *PLOVŪTU, *VINCŪTU, *VISCŪTU, and also *CONOVŪTU for COGNITUM, whence the French forms *d(e)u*, *(e)u*, *moulu*, *paru*, *pl(e)u*, *b(e)u*, *valu*, O F *n(e)u*, *fallu*, *m(e)u*, *couru*, O.F *j(e)u*, *pl(e)u*, *vencu*, *ve(s)cu*, *conn(e)u* respectively These were followed by other -UI verbs *LEGŪTU (for LECTUM), *RECEPŪTU (RECEPTUM), *RUMPŪTU (RUPTUM), and *TENŪTU (TENTUM) (under the influence of which *VENŪTU for VENTUM was created), including some which had no past participle in C L *POTŪTU, *SAPŪTU, *VOLŪTU Thus arose the French forms *l(e)u*, *rec(e)u*, *rompu*, *tenu*, *venu*, *p(e)u*, *s(e)u*, *voulu*. But once begun, the movement carried with it past participles in -ĪTUM (primary or secondary) which did not correspond to -UI perfects *PERDŪTU, *VENDŪTU, *EXŪTU, and *VIDŪTU (for *VIDĪTU for VISUM), *DESCENDŪTU, *FERŪTU, *RENDŪTU, *DEFENDŪTU, *FINDŪTU, *FUNDŪTU, *PENDŪTU, *RESPONDŪTU, *TENDŪTU, *TONDŪTU, whence French *perdu*, *vendu*, O F *etssu*

(and *ıssu*, cf Mod F. *ıssue*), *v(e)u, descendu, feru, rendu, defendu, fendu, fondu, pendu, re(s)pondu, tendu, tondu*

The original forms often persisted alongside of the new collateral forms, but, as they tended to appear anomalous, they were gradually deprived of their verbal function and either disappeared or survived only as adjectives or substantives (cf § 371)

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

The creation of new analogical forms continues in the O F period, and in popular speech to the present day, but since the seventeenth century the literary language presents few hesitations The development of the various types may be briefly summarized as follows

364 -ATUM > *-ét* > *-é*, or after a palatal > *-ıét* > *-ıé*, which is reduced during the Mid F period to *-é* (*traıtıé* > *traıte*, *mangıé* > *mangé*) Modern French shows no re-modellings in *-é*, but the number of *-é* forms has been greatly increased by additions to the verbs in *-er* (§ 289) *epelé*, *grondé*, *pué*, *sangloté*, *secoué*, *toussé*, *tıssé*, and *dıstrıbué*, *affligé*, such forms are not re-modellings, but regular forms corresponding to new *-er* verbs *Cueıllır* and a few other verbs show collateral forms in *-é*, which were used sporadically in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries On the other hand *recouvrer* hesitated (under the influence of *recouvrır*) between *recouvert* and *recouvré*, from the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century.

365 -ĪTUM > *-ıt* > *-ı* Examples *sentı*, *accomplı*, *fını*, *cueıllı* Such re-modelled forms as *ouvrı*, *offrı*, dating from O F , have not survived, although still used in the sixteenth century (*battı*)

366 -ŪTUM > *-ut* > *-u* The participles in *-u* gradually ousted the collateral forms, e g *couru*, *venu*, *tenu*, *fondu* alone survive in French, *ardu*, *rompu*, *élu* did not displace *ars*, *rout*, *e(s)lıt* until the sixteenth century, while *tordu*, *mordu* triumphed over *tors*, *mors* in the seventeenth On the other hand, *craınt*, *né*, *nuı*, *resplendı*, *suıvı*, *-vertı*, *repentı* eliminated the collateral *-u* forms *cremu*, *nascu*, *neu*, *resplendu*, *seu*, *-vertu*, *repentu*, before the sixteenth century Re-modellings in *-u* dating from the O F

period have not as a rule survived (*prendu*), or at least only to the sixteenth or seventeenth century (*sentu*, *mouru*)

367 The elimination of the final consonant of the stem (if that consonant was intervocal, cf § 98) before *-u* and the weakening of the preceding vowel produced *e-u* forms (*SAPÚTU > *se-u*, *LEGÚTU > *le-u*, *BIBÚTU > *be-u*, *PLACÚTU > *ple-u*), which persist as such in O F, but are reduced in Mid F (cf § 61) The contraction was generally noted by a circumflex accent, but this is now only used in *mû* < *meu* < *MOVÚTU, *crû* < *creu* < *CREVÚTU, *dû* < *deu* < *DEBÚTU, the accent here serves to distinguish *crû*, *dû* from *cru* (p.p of *croire*), *du*, and is therefore not used in the feminines *crue*, *due*, and also in *mue*, the compounds show inconsistency *accrû*, *décrû*, *redû*, but *indu*, *ému*, *promu* Note also that *crû* used as a substantive does not take the accent (*de son propre cru*)

In spelling, *e* persisted long after it had ceased to have any phonetic value, and this led to an artificial restoration of the disyllabic pronunciation (*e-u*) in the sixteenth century and consequent hesitation between *u* and *e-u* well into the seventeenth century Only in the past participle of *avoir*, *eu* (= u), has the old spelling been maintained in Mod F

368 *-TUM > -t* and *-SUM > -s* When unsupported, *t* early became mute NATUM > *nét* > *né*, but NATUS > O F *nez*, STATUM > *e(s)té* When supported (in Latin or Romance), *t* persists in O F, but by the sixteenth century both *t* and *s* had become mute in the masculine, while they remained in the feminine, where they had been protected by *e* (now mute, cf §§ 62–4) *conduit—conduite*, *mis—mise* Certain forms show this loss of the final consonant in spelling and therefore appear in Mod F in the guise of *-i* participles *ri(s)*, *suffi(t)*, *lui(t)*, *nui(t)*,[1] they are all intransitive verbs conjugated with *avoir* and therefore never used in the feminine, which would account for their readiness to drop a meaningless consonant and join the *-i* class In other participles the existence of feminine forms

[1] When *luisir*, *nuisir* gave way to *luire*, *nuire* (§ 290) the participles *luit*, *nuit* (for O F *luis*, *neu*) were created under the influence of verbs in *-uire* (*conduire—conduit*).

prevents such an assimilation; but *conclus*, *exclus* became *conclu*, *exclu*, in spite of the feminine forms *concluse*, *excluse*, which were still used in the eighteenth century, for this change the influence of the infinitives *conclure*, *exclure* and the analogy of *valu*, etc are doubtless responsible, *exclus*, *excluse*, *inclus*, *incluse* survive as adjectives, also *perclus*, *percluse*, *reclus* remained unaffected

369 -ECTUM and -ĬCTUM regularly gave *-eit*, later *-oit* (COLLECTUM > *coillеit*, BENEDĬCTUM > *bene(d)eit*, MALEDĬCTUM > *male-(d)eit*), which came to be considered as a participial suffix in O F and led to such re-modellings as *cheoit* (beside *cheu* < *CADŪTU) None of the latter survived, except as fossilized forms *benoît* (dial *benêt*) < *bene(d)eit*, and *cueillette*, which (with change of suffix) continues *coillеite*, *cueilloite* Similarly DĬCTUM should have given **deit*, but under the influence of the infinitive we have *dit*, also *maudit* (for O F *male(d)eit*, *maleoit*), *béni—e* is a new formation on the inf *bénir*, *bénit—e*, now only used as an adjective (*pain bénit*, *eau bénite*), either continues *BENEDĬCTUM (with ĭ by analogy with the infinitive) or arose when *bénir* (for O F *beneistre*) developed a collateral *benire* (≠*maudire*), a form which is still found in the seventeenth century

370 The conflict between *sous* (*SOLSU), *solu* (SOLUTUM), and *sout* (*SOLTU) is still reflected in the verbs *résoudre* p p *résolu—e* beside *résous* (used as a technical term in chemistry, etc), *dissoudre* p p *dissous*, *dissoute*, *absoudre* p p *absous*, *absoute*, *dissolu* and *absolu* survive only as adjectives

371 The number of strong forms thus shows a steady decline, beginning in V L and continuing down to the seventeenth century Some have disappeared since O F , together with the verbs to which they belonged *occis* (*occire*), *ters* (*terdre*), *raent* (*raembre*), *tolt* (*toldre*, *tollir*), others have given way to re-modelled forms: *mors*, *tors*, etc (§ 366) Many survived in the form of substantives (masc or fem) or adjectives, to those already mentioned the following may be added. BIBITUM—O.F. *boite* 'drink', COGNITUM—O.F. *cointe* (whence Engl *quaint*) 'knowing', 'well-prepared',

'dainty', CONFUSUM—*confus*, CURSUM—*cours*, *concours*, *recours*, *secours*, DEBITUM—*dette*, DEFENSUM—*défens*, *défense*, DISPENSUM—*dépens*, *dépense*, ELECTUM—*élite*, FALSUM—*faux*, FISSUM—*fesse*; FUGITUM—*fuite*, *FUNDITU—*fonte*; (MALE) HABITUM—*malade*, *IMPLICITU—*emplette* (O F *emplete*); MISSUM—*mets* (O F. *mes*), MORSUM—*mors*, *remords*, OFFENSUM—*offense*, PERDITUM—*perte*,' PLACITUM—*plaid*, PRAEPOSITUM—*prévôt*, QUAESTUM—*acquêt*, *quête*, *conquête*, *requête*, RASUM—*rez* in *rez-de-chaussée*, etc, RECEPTUM—*recette*, *RENDITU—*rente*, REPOSITUM—O F *repost* 'hidden'; RESPONSUM—*répons*, *réponse*, RUPTUM—*route*, *déroute*, *SEQUITU—*suite*, SPARSUM—*épars*, SUCCUSSUM—*secousse*, *re(s)-cousse*, TENSUM—*toise*, *TONDITU—*tonte*, TORTUM—*tort*, VENDITUM—*vente*, *VOLTU—*voûte*

Syntax of the past participle

372 In Latin the past participle is purely adjectival and always agrees with the substantive which it modifies It continues to be so treated in French if it is used adjectivally (*une occasion perdue*, *Il la trouva accablée*) Similarly, in absolute constructions (*La nuit venue*, *il partit*), which were formerly used much more freely and, under Latin influence,[1] enjoyed great popularity in the sixteenth century (XIV, 2, 7, 58, 68) Such constructions could formerly be preceded by a preposition (*avant la nuit venue*) Similarly, *excepté*, *ci-inclus*, *ci-joint* agree if they follow the substantive (*la lettre ci-jointe*), but if they precede, they become practically equivalent to adverbs or prepositions and are therefore invariable (*excepté ses amis*, *Vous trouverez ci-joint la lettre*)

373 In compound tenses formed with *être*, the past participle regularly agrees with the subject, as in Latin In O F it was sometimes treated as invariable (X, 61), particularly if the subject followed, *être* + participle being treated as

[1] Latin influence is also responsible for the use of the participle as the equivalent of a clause, as in XVII, 27 Cf also the following bold use of the absolute construction *Aux murs miroitaient des armes de toute provenance un casque de soldat prussien que le comte me montra, presque aussitôt entrés*, Bourget, *Le Disciple*

a unit, the equivalent of a simple tense For a similar reason the absolute *étant donné* remains invariable (*étant donné ces conditions*)

374 When conjugated with *avoir* the past participle originally agreed with the direct object (III, 41, 42, IV, 80, VI, 62), as in Latin (HABEO LITTERAS SCRIPTAS), but with the weakening of *avoir* to the function of a mere auxiliary, *avoir* + participle became the equivalent of a simple tense, and the passive meaning of the past participle became obliterated Hence a tendency to leave the participle invariable, which is observable in the twelfth century and becomes more general in the thirteenth. Latin influence may have had a share in maintaining agreement, which remained the rule when the direct object preceded (*J'ai la vérité entendue*) Out of the confusion and hesitation which obtain down to the eighteenth century (cf XV *b*, 2), two tendencies emerge, one to leave the participle invariable if the direct object follows, the other to make it agree if the direct object precedes In the seventeenth century the question was much debated, but there was general agreement to leave the participle invariable if another word followed The modern rule requiring agreement with the direct object if the latter precedes was adopted in the eighteenth century [1]

375 If the participle is followed by an infinitive, agreement with the direct object is the rule in O F. (*Je l'ai faite venir*, cf IV, 98), but here, too, hesitation exists and continues in the seventeenth century (cf also XV *b*, 9) The modern rules which make *fait* always invariable, and the participles of other verbs invariable if the object is the object of the infinitive (*La chanson que j'ai entendu chanter*), are due to a modern interpretation of the infinitive as active in meaning instead of passive (as it was in O F ; cf § 300)

376 The past participle of pronominal verbs agreed with the subject down to the seventeenth century, when, *être* being interpreted as a variant of *avoir*, the past participle was made

[1] It had been formulated as early as the sixteenth century by Marot and Ramus, cf Sneyders de Vogel, § 287 ff

to agree with the preceding direct object (*Elle s'est coupée*, but *Elle s'est coupé la main*) The rule becomes illogical in cases like *Elle s'est écriée*, *Ils se sont plaints*, where *se* is the grammatical, but not the logical, direct object, *s'écrier* and *se plaindre* not being 'reflexive' verbs (cf § 384 ff)

The past participle of impersonal verbs (with few exceptions) and of intransitive verbs (unless used transitively *la vie que j'ai vécue*) has always been invariable

377 It should be noted that in many cases the question of agreement affects spelling and versification only (*vu—vue*, *fini—finie*) In the remaining cases the spoken language shows much fluctuation, the tendency to leave the participle invariable being counteracted by the influence of the schoolmaster and of the written word

CONCORD

378 Exceptions to the rule that the verb agrees with its subject in person and number are due to attraction or syllepsis. Such forms as *j'avons* are now confined to patois, but formerly had a wide currency O F *ce suis je*, *ce sommes nous*, in which *ce* is the predicate, gave way in the sixteenth century to *c'est moi*, *c'est nous*, because *ce* had come to be regarded as the subject of an impersonal expression *c'est* (*c'est il*, *c'est lui*, *c'est raison*) *Ce sont* was in certain cases allowed by seventeenth-century grammarians, but even here the force of analogy has gradually broken down their artificial rules *c'est*, which had continued to be used in popular speech, has now received official sanction, whether before a plural pronoun or substantive (*C'est eux*)

379 The rule requiring the agreement in person (and number) of the verb in a relative clause with its antecedent was often violated in medieval practice and as late as the eighteenth century In some cases hesitation persists to the present day Such constructions as *Je ne vois plus que vous qui la puisse défendre* (cf § 411) represent the triumph over formal rules of a feeling that the antecedent is not really *vous* but

a generic '*personne*' implied in *Je ne vois plus* (cf Sneyders de Vogel, § 187). In literary usage the formal rule is now observed; but if the antecedent is followed by a complement or predicative adjective, there is often hesitation *Vous êtes les seuls qui soyez (soient) arrivés*

380 If the subject is a collective noun, the verb is often in the plural in medieval usage (*la gent dient*), cf x, 91; xi, 52 In Mod F the formal rule requiring the singular gives rise to hesitation only if the substantive is followed by a plural complement (*la foule des gens*), and the usual practice is to use the singular if the notion of collectivity is uppermost in the mind, otherwise the plural, but by an official dispensation (1901) the plural is allowed in all cases Contrary to seventeenth-century practice, the plural is now compulsory after *la plupart des*

381 After a compound subject Mod F requires, with few exceptions, the plural of the verb; but as late as the eighteenth century agreement with the nearest substantive was tolerated if the several substantives are linked by *et* If they are linked by *comme, ainsi que, ni, avec,* the verb may now always be in the plural (as it was in the seventeenth century), the subtle distinctions of grammarians having been disowned by the Decree of 1901

TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE VERBS

382 The distinction between Transitive verbs (those which take a direct object) and Intransitive verbs (those which take an indirect object or no object) is a purely formal one It does not reflect a difference in the notion conveyed, but (*a*) linguistic habits, (*b*) the point of view from which the action is regarded It follows that, as linguistic habits change, so a verb may pass from one class to the other, and that at a given period the same verb may be used transitively and intransitively. Thus *délibérer, consentir, jouir* were used transitively down to the seventeenth century, but are now intransitive Conversely *assister, contredire, fuir, regarder* (but *y regarder*)

have in Modern French become transitive The change is sometimes due to analogy Thus *ressembler quelqu'un* > *ressembler à quelqu'un* ≠ *être semblable à* The fact that proclitic *vous*, *nous*, *me*, *te*, etc do not permit of a distinction between accusative and dative and that *lui*, *cui*, etc were formerly used both as accusative and dative may have helped to cause hesitation But often the change is due simply to a new way of conceiving the action, when both uses may persist· *croire qqn* , *croire à qqn* , *croire en qqn* , *aider à qqn* , which was common even as late as the seventeenth century, is now possible only if a prepositional infinitive follows (*aider à qqn à faire qqch*), otherwise *aider qqn* is used, *prier à qqn* , *servir à qqn* , *survivre qqn* did not outlive the seventeenth century; cf also XIV, 18

383 Such fluctuations are different in kind from the derived functions presented by the absolute use of a transitive verb (*Il écrivait*), or the factitive use of intransitive verbs (*arrêter*, originally intransitive, becomes *arrêter* v tr 'to cause to halt') Intransitive verbs frequently become transitive in form without change of meaning when they are followed by an accusative denoting the cause of the action (*Je pleure la mort d'un ami*), the place where it happens (*courir les rues*), or repeating the notion conveyed by the verb (*vivre sa vie*) Some verbs have developed a variety of uses (*Il descend*; *Il descend l'escalier*, *Descendez-moi ces bagages*! *L'avion a été descendu*) *Apprendre* 'to apprehend', 'to learn', a transitive verb, used factitively, became *apprendre* 'to cause to learn', 'to teach' (*Oiseaux qu'ils ont appris à chanter*, Vaugelas, *Q Q*, VIII, 9, Sudre, p 94), whence the passive *être appris* (*Singulierement, estoit aprins à saulter hastivement d'un cheval sus l'aultre*, Rab I, 23), which has survived in *bien appris*, *mal appris*, *apprendre qqn* , *apprendre qqn à faire qqch* are common in the seventeenth century, but have given way to *apprendre qqch à qqn* , *apprendre à qqn à faire qqch* Montaigne's *Qui apprendroit les hommes à mourir*, *leur apprendroit à vivre* (I, 20) may be taken as characteristic of a common sixteenth-century hesitation between transitive and intransitive use of verbs [1]

Cf Nyrop, VI, §§ 184–9, Sneyders de Vogel, §§ 192–9

PRONOMINAL VERBS

384 Of the pronominal verbs (constructed with a reflexive pronoun) some are genuine reflexives, i e the subject is at the same time the object (direct or indirect) of the action denoted by the verb *Je me couche*, *Il se tue* The Latin pronominal verbs were all of this type, but, if the subject was an inanimate object or the verb abstract, their reflexive force was hardly apparent and they tended to acquire a purely neuter value (SE MUTARE) In time, the reflexive pronoun came to be considered as a mere adjunct of the verb, serving at most to establish a closer connection between subject and verb, and giving more subjective force to the action It was therefore natural that the reflexive pronoun should be employed to serve a similar function with neuter verbs, and we find it so used from the beginning of the O F period *Charles se gist* (*Rol* 2513), *Charles se dort* (*Rol* 718), *Et les oiseaux qui se crient* (*Auc et Nic* 5, 13), IV, 86 This optional use of the reflexive pronoun was still common in the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth there is still hesitation between *apparaître* and *s'apparaître*, *disparaître* and *se disparaître*, *éclater de rire* and *s'éclater de rire*, *approcher* alone preserves it in Mod F In other cases the language has utilized the hesitation to make a slight distinction in meaning *jouer—se jouer*, *rire—se rire*, *avancer—s'avancer*, *mourir—se mourir*, or has accepted the pronominal form *s'évanouir*, *s'affaiblir*, *s'écrier*, *s'écrouler*, *se taire*, *s'endormir*, or more commonly has dropped the reflexive pronoun In a number of verbs the reflexive pronoun has been maintained before *en* only *s'en aller*, *s'enfuir*, *s'en retourner* (note *se retourner* = 'to turn round'), *s'en revenir*, *s'envoler* In popular speech and in many patois the medieval usage is to a large extent maintained. This purely formal use of the reflexive pronoun has been extended by analogy to certain transitive verbs *s'apercevoir*, *s'aviser*, *se moquer*

385 The optional use of the pronoun with neuter verbs led in O.F to a parallel optional suppression of the pronoun

with genuine reflexive verbs This is still found after modal auxiliaries, in more or less fixed locutions (*faire taire*, *envoyer promener*) the pronoun is suppressed, but generally the tendency is to use it.

386 Certain pronominal verbs show the use of the reflexive pronoun as a dative of interest (*s'imaginer*, *se figurer*, *se rappeler qqch*, *se permettre*), in some it can be used either as a dative or as an accusative *Elle s'est coupé la main—Elle s'est coupée*, *Elle s'est caché la figure—Elle s'est cachée*

387 The readiness with which the pronominal form acquires a purely passive meaning is evidenced by the use in Latin of both the analytic passive (MUTATUM EST) and the pronominal forms (SE MUTAVIT) to render the neuter idea 'it has changed' In French the pronominal form does not appear to have been used to render the passive before the fourteenth century Its rapid extension in the sixteenth may be due in part to Italian influence Since the seventeenth century it has been much restricted and is now only employed with an inanimate subject *Le livre ne s'est pas retrouvé = Le livre n'a pas été retrouvé*, but *La jeune fille ne s'est pas retrouvée* can no longer be used as the equivalent of *La jeune fille n'a pas été retrouvée*

388 The compound tenses of pronominal verbs are formed with *être*, but in O F , as in modern popular speech, *avoir* is common The use of *avoir* with a genuine reflexive is logically justified O F *je m'ai levé* (literally 'I have raised myself') being exactly parallel to *j'ai levé la main* ('I have raised my hand'), but beside *je m'ai levé* we find *je suis levé* (which continues Latin LEVATUS SUM), and with analogical introduction of the pronoun, *je me suis levé* The eventual triumph of the latter over *je m'ai levé* as the perfect of *se lever* was facilitated by the development of a purely neuter meaning (*se lever* = 'to get up'), *je suis levé* came to denote only the passive 'I am raised' or a state 'I am up' [1]

[1] Cf Sneyders de Vogel, §§ 152–74

IMPERSONAL VERBS

389 French inherited the impersonal verb from Latin and preserves the liberty to employ personal verbs impersonally (*Il arrive des accidents*), and conversely to employ impersonal verbs personally, by giving them a factitive meaning (*Il tonne contre ses ennemis*) The impersonal use of the passive of neuter verbs (ITUR) was continued in O F but has practically died out, although transitive verbs may still be used in this way (*Il est dit*) Similarly Mod F continues to use pronominal verbs impersonally (*Il se trouve*) Contrary to Latin usage, a construction like *Il pleut des balles* (grammatically impersonal, but logically personal) may be turned into *Des balles pleuvent* (grammatically and logically personal), cf XI, 6

390. The stock of impersonal verbs varies at different periods of the language, they are now less numerous than formerly Of the Latin verbs denoting natural phenomena, the majority have survived (*il pleut*—PLUIT), and losses have been more than made good by the development of *il fait*, which is used in O.F to denote weather conditions (*Et al maitin fist mult bel jor et mult cler*, Villehardouin, 78) and is gradually extended to denote other phenomena

391 Other impersonal verbs have been less stable many do not persist in French (PUDET, etc), others did not survive the O F period (*loist* < LICET) Unless they are used personally (see above), they require a complement (substantive, infinitive or clause), which, although it may logically appear as the subject, is grammatically the direct object, and therefore the oblique case is the rule in O F *Il nen i at ne veie ne sentier* (obl), *Rol* 2399 With the loss of case distinctions the complement comes to be regarded as the subject *Il y a des hommes* is felt to be logically on the same footing as *Des hommes existent*, cf Engl 'there *are* men'

392 There has been considerable variation in the impersonal use of personal verbs *doulоir, afferir* (cf XI, 3), *apparoir* become purely impersonal in the sixteenth century (*duelt, affiert, apert*) and do not survive in Mod F., whereas

déplaire, ennuyer, fâcher and other verbs show hesitation in the seventeenth, *souvenir* still preserves the hesitation between *je me souviens de* and *il me souvient de* (now obsolescent). Certain French creations such as *pert, apert, chaut* 'it matters' (XIII, 7, 23) have not survived, except as archaisms, *convient* has been partly, O F *estuet* (< STUPET) 'it is necessary' completely eliminated by *il faut* (< FALLIT), which from the meaning 'it is lacking', 'it is needful' developed the modern meaning 'it is necessary' (found as early as the twelfth century, cf XIII, 11, 94) The impersonal use of *avoir* dates from V L, whether in the sense of 'there is, there are' or 'ago' (*il y a dix jours*) As late as the sixteenth century (and sporadically in the seventeenth) the use of *il* and *y* is optional (*Set anz at pleins qu'en Espaigne venimes* (*Rol* 197), *Voilà ce que je devais vous avoir écrit il a longtemps*, Voiture, Haase, 10, 1) The older usage is reflected in archaic *naguère* (*n'a guère* = *il n'y a guère*), *pieça* (= *piece a*) The impersonal use of *être* in the sense of *il y a* (*Il est un Dieu*) dates from O F (cf XVI, 68), but is now little more than a literary variant (*Il est des beautés qui échappent à l'artiste*)

393 The pronoun *il*, which in Mod F figures as the grammatical subject of impersonal verbs, was regularly omitted in O F It gradually came to be used by analogy with personal verbs (§ 240), but it is far from universal in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and often preserves its demonstrative force, being the equivalent of Mod F *cela* (XVI, 21) A few expressions, such as *à Dieu ne plaise, n'importe, naguère*, represent survivals of former usage

MOOD

394 French inherited from Latin the parallel series of verbal forms which we call the Indicative and Subjunctive,[1] but the use it makes of them presents a number of striking deviations from C L practice The general significance of these series of forms (moods) has, however, remained the

[1] For the Infinitive and Imperative, see §§ 295–300, 329–30

same The Indicative is the objective mood and is employed for an objective statement of fact (whether positive or negative) or for a direct question The Subjunctive is the subjective mood and is employed to convey the attitude of the speaker. something of himself is introduced into the statement (or question), which is put forward, not as something absolute, but as dependent upon the thoughts or feelings of the speaker; he presents the action denoted by the verb as something unfulfilled, possible, probable, hypothetical, desirable, or states it in an attenuated (polite) form The Subjunctive may therefore with some justice be called the contingent or prospective mood But, as applied to human speech 'subjective' and 'objective' are relative terms, and correspond largely to a difference of degree Thus, in a sentence like *Voilà un livre qui est intéressant*, the relative clause is purely descriptive, and yet the speaker identifies himself with the statement to the extent of putting it forward as being in his opinion correct On the other hand, if he says *Donnez-moi un livre qui soit intéressant*, the qualification attached to the book is put forward as something desired or demanded by the speaker (cf § 411) Between the two we can imagine a whole series of gradations in degree and in kind, some of which might be rendered by the addition of *peut-être*, *probablement*, *à mon avis*, others by a mere inflection of the voice We must therefore recognize, on the one hand, that the Indicative is never purely objective, and, on the other, that the Subjunctive is but one of a number of devices employed by the language to indicate the attitude of the speaker Further, no language possesses the necessary formal devices for rendering accurately each one of the gradations referred to, and in practice one device is often employed to render a whole series This is pre-eminently true of the two linguistic devices (series of flexional forms) which we call the Indicative and the Subjunctive

395 The second consideration to be borne in mind is that in the course of time new habits of thought, a change in attitude, phonetic and analogical changes, outside influences

(such as the influence of Latin on French), may bring about a change in the functions assigned to such devices as the indicative and subjunctive moods Thus the subjunctive of indirect discourse falls into disuse in V L , and it is no longer considered essential to indicate by a change of mood such a purely intellectual relation as that of the speaker to reported speech It is quite in accord with the analytical tendency observable in V.L. and the Romance languages that analytical constructions composed of DEBERE or POSSE + infinitive should be preferred in many cases to the subjunctive flexions Or again, the distinction which is made in O F. between a substantival clause embodying a statement (*Je dis qu'il est venu*) and an opinion (*Je crois qu'il soit venu*) is now no longer reflected in a difference of mood This may be partly due to an abandonment of what are considered superfluous distinctions, or to analogy, but it is in the main accounted for by the fact that the dependent clause has become more completely subordinated to the main verb and that the distinction is held to be quite adequately indicated by the meaning of *je dis* and *je crois* respectively. The O F fondness for the paratactic structure (*Guardez de nos ne tornez lo corage, Rol* 650, *Ne poet muder n'en plort, Rol* 2517, also II, 10, IV, 7, 67) made the subjunctive a practical necessity and often accounts for its use where from the Mod F point of view we might not consider it called for.

396 Furthermore, phonetic evolution and analogical influences have in many cases obliterated the distinction between the Mod F indicative and subjunctive (*je donne, tu donnes, il donne, ils donnent,* and the like) Consequently the subjunctive is incapable of fulfilling the functions it served in Latin and to a large extent in O.F., and it is fast falling into disuse in popular speech

397 The literary language naturally maintains more fully the use of the subjunctive It utilizes it for maintaining distinctions of meaning and mood that are not felt to be necessary in popular speech or are rendered by other devices Consequently there is a certain artificiality about the sub-

junctive, it owes its continued vitality in some measure to the conscious endeavour to write 'correctly', or to the efforts of grammarians and teachers As the latter have evolved rules of the type 'the subjunctive is used after verbs of wishing' or 'the subjunctive is used after verbs of saying and thinking used negatively, unless the statement is accepted as a fact', it is not surprising that the use of the subjunctive has become largely formalized and that it is employed much less *naturally* than in O.F Analogical extension of the subjunctive is therefore more common in the modern period, its optional use having practically disappeared, the language has lost in expressiveness in this particular direction The literary language reflects the popular tendency to make over the traditional functions of the subjunctive to modal verbs (*devoir, pouvoir*) accompanied by the infinitive, or to various tenses of the indicative In particular, the future-in-the-past has developed a modal value which is being used more and more.

398 In the following pages we shall indicate briefly some of the more striking changes in the use of the subjunctive, grouped under the traditional headings It will be seen that the most notable development is the more and more complete subordination of the dependent clause, and a consequent tendency to make its verb reflect the attitude of the speaker, not directly, but indirectly through the principal verb or through the conjunction In spite of this tendency, the older and more natural uses survive, often branded as exceptions compare *J'admets que cela est vrai* 'It is true, I admit it' with *J'admets que cela soit vrai* 'Let it be true, I am willing to assume it' The grammarian who considers such cases empirically will say that if the verb is used in one sense it takes the subjunctive, if used in another it takes the indicative. It would be more correct to say that the subjunctive has invested the principal verb with a new meaning, or stresses certain of its meanings to the exclusion of others Compare the following passage from Mme de Sévigné (IV, 3), quoted by L Sudre (p 125) *Ils croient qu'on les menât au combat, qu'ils voulaient venger la mort de leur père , qu'avec lui ils ne craignaient*

rien, mais qu'ils vengeroient bien sa mort, qu'on les laissât faire, qu'ils étoient furieux et qu'on les menât au combat

Similarly, the use of the subjunctive in an independent sentence as a direct reflection of the mood of the speaker has progressively declined, being now restricted practically to the jussive, and it is significant that it is in form brought into line with dependent clauses (*qu'il vienne*), even being explained in some school grammars as an elliptical expression—an interesting sign of the decline of the subjunctive

INDEPENDENT SENTENCES

399 The indicative continues to be used for objective statement of real facts (positive and negative) and direct questions

The subjunctive has steadily lost ground since C L The hortative or jussive subjunctive survives in the form of an imperative of the third person (§ 329) The optative subjunctive was used in O F as in Latin, the present denoting a realizable wish (IV, 48–50), the imperfect and pluperfect an unrealizable wish, but since the seventeenth century it is essentially a literary form, *que* has become compulsory in the third person, except in certain fixed locutions (*Vive le roi!*) and in optative phrases introduced by *pouvoir* (*Puisse-t-il réussir*) or of the type *Plût à Dieu qu'il en fût ainsi!* In the first and second persons the optative subjunctive has become restricted practically to the last two cases mentioned (*Puissé-je le revoir! Fussions-nous sûrs de le revoir!*) The concessive subjunctive survives in *soit* 'so be it', *advienne que pourra*, it was common in O F (*Voeillet o non, desoz cez vals s'en fuit, Rol* 2043)

400 The Latin 'subjunctive of modesty' survives in *je ne sache* (*Je ne sache rien de si beau*), but is normally rendered in Mod F by the conditional, as is also the potential subjunctive *Je ne dirais pas que c'est plus beau, Je ne saurais répondre à cette question, On aurait cru qu'il faisait jour.* Historically such uses of the conditional represent a development of the conditional sentence, the protasis being understood For the

mood of the verb in the apodosis of conditional sentences, see §§ 422–6

Dependent clauses

Substantival

401 After verbs of declaring and believing In O F the mood used in a substantival clause is determined by the attitude taken up by the speaker If he presents the statement as certain, the indicative is used; if he wishes to imply contingency, the subjunctive Consequently the indicative was normal after verbs of declaring, the subjunctive after verbs of believing But as verbs of declaring and believing may be used with varying degrees of positive or negative meaning, this rule was anything but hard and fast The resulting hesitation is still to be observed in the case of *admettre* and *supposer* (*Je suppose qu'il viendra demain*, *Supposons qu'il vienne demain*) When used negatively, interrogatively or with a condition implied, both types of verbs were regularly followed by the subjunctive Modern usage is due partly to analogical levelling, partly to a desire to eliminate as being irregular those fluctuations which in O F represented real distinctions Mod F therefore employs the same mood in *Je dis que cela est vrai* as in *Je pense que cela est vrai* (cf *La plus belle des deux, je crois que ce soit l'autre*, Corn *Menteur*, I, 4—condemned as a mistake by Voltaire), but nevertheless allows logic to prescribe the indicative to denote a certain fact after a verb of saying or thinking used interrogatively or negatively (*Vous a-t-on dit qu'il était là ?*).

402 Verbs of saying and thinking which are definitely negative (*nier*, *douter*) regularly take the subjunctive When such verbs are used negatively they are equivalent to an affirmation and regularly take the indicative in O F , but as the form is negative (*Je ne doute pas*), the subjunctive preceded by an expletive *ne* is also used on the model of Latin NON DUBITO QUIN (*Je ne doute pas qu'il ne vienne*)

403 Verbs implying the intervention of the will (*vouloir*, *demander*, *conseiller*) regularly take the subjunctive in O F as

in Mod F , but after verbs implying decision (*résoudre, décider*) the indicative (fut or fut -in-the-past) is used, if the emphasis is on the decision, as distinct from the attitude of the speaker (*J'ai décidé qu'il partira demain*, but *J'entends qu'il parte*)

404 Verbs of feeling hesitated in O.F between the indicative (if the dependent clause is looked upon as expressing a fact) and the subjunctive (if the subjective element is prominent) Similarly, verbs of fearing continued to be followed by the indicative (fut or fut -in-the-past) as late as the seventeenth century in cases where they are virtually equivalent to a declaratory verb *J'ay grand peur que toute ceste entreprinse sera semblable à la farce du pot au lait*, Rabelais, Sudre, p 126

405 After impersonal expressions denoting certainty or probability (*il est certain, il est probable*), the verb of the substantival clause, which is the logical subject, is treated in the same way as after verbs of saying and thinking The O F hesitation is preserved after *il semble*, the indicative implying that the speaker regards the dependent clause as expressing a fact

406 After other impersonal expressions (denoting necessity, possibility, etc) the subjunctive has always been the rule, but down to the eighteenth century exceptions are common Thus *il se peut, il est possible, il suffit* are frequently followed by the indicative in seventeenth-century authors *Il se peut que son intention n'a pas été mauvaise* (G de Balzac), *Est-il possible que vous serez toujours embéguiné?* (Mol), *Ne vous suffit-il pas que je l'ai condamné?* (Rac), cited by Haase, 81 (*a*), 79

407 After *ce n'est pas que* the subjunctive is regularly used because the substantival clause is not presented objectively *Ce n'est pas que de tels accidents soient rares* 'It is not as though such accidents were rare', but after *n'est-ce pas que* the question is more or less rhetorical and the answer 'Yes' is expected. *N'est-ce pas que de tels accidents sont rares?* 'Such accidents are rare, are they not?', *est-ce que* has come to be a mere periphrastic device for the formulation of direct questions (without inversion) and therefore takes the indicative

408 It often happens in O F. and in Mod F that a dependent clause which normally shows the indicative takes the subjunctive if it precedes the main clause, the reason being that the speaker does not commit himself as to its reality or otherwise and reserves his decision for the following main clause *Qu'il ait mérité sa disgrâce, je le sais, j'en suis sûr*, etc

409 Indirect questions The subjunctive, which was the rule in indirect questions in C L , gradually gives place to the indicative in L L and survives in O F only if it reflects the feeling or wish of the speaker, sometimes if nothing more than deliberation in his mind is implied ('*Deus!*' *dist li quens*, '*or ne sai jo que face*', *Rol* 1982) In the sixteenth century the subjunctive is still fairly common in such cases, and the influence of Latin undoubtedly helped to maintain and temporarily to extend it (*Platon ne scait en quel rang il les doibve colloquer*, Rabelais, Sudre, p 128); but since then it is no longer used in genuine indirect questions

Adjectival

410 Relative clauses are either explanatory (non-defining) or attributive (defining) Explanatory relative clauses are in the nature of intercalations and can be omitted without destroying the general meaning of the sentence Syntactically they are on the same footing as co-ordinated clauses and the verb is therefore regularly in the indicative [1] Logically the relative clause may be the equivalent of a main clause (*Mon ami, que j'attends, n'est pas arrivé*) or of an adverbial clause (*Mon ami, qui m'avait promis de venir, n'est pas arrivé*) Similarly the verb of a relative clause referring to the whole of a preceding sentence is in the indicative (*Il m'avait promis de venir, ce qu'il a oublié*)

411 The normal function of an attributive relative clause is to define the antecedent in the same way as an attributive adjective would define it, in which case the indicative is used

[1] In O F the subjunctive is occasionally used in clauses of this type in the same way as in a main clause (§ 399) '*Dieu vous en oie, sire*', *dist Aimeris*, '*Qui me crosse barnage*', quoted by Sneyders de Vogel, § 227

But the relative clause is often utilized to give expression at the same time to some idea or feeling of the speaker, with the result that the qualification it embodies is put forward as something contingent (§ 394), in which case the subjunctive is employed Under the latter head are to be included those relative clauses which are commonly described as virtually final, consecutive or concessive (*Je cherche un moyen qui soit sûr* and the like), but it will be observed that the purpose, result or concession is not logically dependent upon the grammatical antecedent *Donnez-moi un livre qui soit intéressant* does not signify 'Give me a book so that it may be interesting', but rather 'Give me a book, but I demand (or wish) that it shall be interesting'. The difference between *Donnez-moi un livre intéressant* and *Donnez-moi un livre qui soit intéressant* lies in the introduction of the personal element implied in the subjunctive The introduction of this personal and contingent element may be induced by the form in which the antecedent is presented, e g it may form part of a negation, a question, a hypothesis, a command (*Je ne vois personne qui puisse nous aider*, *Y a-t-il quelqu'un qui puisse nous aider?*, cf XIV, 21) The same effect is produced by an adjective in the superlative (*C'est le meilleur moyen qu'on puisse trouver*), and occasionally by the positive form, if the adjective implies the exercise of the speaker's opinion or judgment (*le seul homme que j'aie vu*; *la dernière édition qui soit parue*) Similarly seventeenth-century authors employ the subjunctive after *tout* (*Anvers . surpasse toutes les autres villes que j'aie vues*, Regn , Haase, 75)

412 Latin made a wide use of the subjunctive in relative clauses of the above types, but it was not compulsory Modern French shows a more consistent use of the subjunctive, but in the Middle Ages it was not completely normalized, and the subjunctive preserved to a fuller extent its real significance Thus it is sometimes used in O.F with a definite antecedent In the following example quoted by Sudre (p 128) *Quatre homes i tramist armez Qui lui alassent decoler* (Saint Léger, 37) the idea of purpose embraces the whole of the sentence, but this idea is rendered merely by employing the subjunctive

in the relative clause On the other hand the indicative was sometimes used where Mod F requires the subjunctive, and examples are found as late as the seventeenth century *Je vous souhaiterais une femme de chambre qui ne sait pas bien peigner* (La Rochefoucauld, Haase, 75). Here the optional use of the indicative has enabled the writer to eliminate the personal or contingent element and to make the clause strictly equivalent to an attributive adjective.

413 After the superlative there has always been hesitation O.F. prefers the indicative (*Cons fut de Rome, des melz ki dunc i erent*, Alexis, 17, *Et leur mist couronnes d'or les milleurs que il avoit*, Asenath, p 11). If the superlative idea is prominent, the subjunctive is used, if it is secondary, the indicative This rather subtle distinction is not always observed, and the consequent hesitation has been officially ended in modern literary usage in favour of the subjunctive, but popular speech prefers the indicative, and it is often used by modern authors Seventeenth-century writers show a marked predilection for the conditional (*la plus grande marque que je vous saurais jamais rendre*, Voiture, and further examples in Haase, 75, 3).

Adverbial

414 Here, too, the subjunctive is revealed as the subjective, contingent or prospective mood Consequently it has always been used in final clauses, while the indicative is reserved for local clauses In other adverbial clauses the choice of mood depends upon the degree to which the subjective element is present and stressed

Temporal clauses

415 The indicative has been the rule from the beginning, except when the action denoted by the verb is conceived of as being contingent or prospective, i e normally after *avant que* (O F. *ainz que* and other equivalents) and *jusqu'à ce que* (O F *jusque, tresque*) After *jusqu'à ce que*, but not after *avant que*, Mod F has preserved the O F. use of the indicative when referring to an action already accomplished and therefore

not contingent (*Il resta là, jusqu'à ce que son maître vint le trouver*) In O F, and as late as the sixteenth century, the future or future-in-the-past is sometimes used to render the prospective or contingent action where Mod F requires the subjunctive (*Jusques à ce qu'il aura deffait tout*, Cent Nouv, Sudre, p 131)

Causal clauses

416 The verb is regularly in the indicative in O F, as in Mod F, if the cause is presented objectively The use of the subjunctive after *comme*, which is frequent in late Mid F and is due to Latin influence (CUM + subjv), disappears in the seventeenth century If the cause is presented as unreal the subjunctive is used (*Non que je le veuille* 'it is not as though I wished it')

Concessive clauses

417 The C L distinction of mood disappeared together with the concessive conjunctions, and O F employs the subjunctive with or without *que* (*Veuille ou non*; XVI, 93, XIII, 19) But here, too, the insistence upon the thing conceded as a fact induced the use of the indicative (XIII, 58), and this distinction was defended by Malherbe It has survived only in the case of *tout . que* + ind denoting an objective fact (*tout mauvais qu'il est*), as opposed to *si . que* + subjv to denote a hypothetical assertion (*si mauvais qu'il soit*) Elsewhere the subjunctive has been generalized, and no distinction is now made between 'although it is' and 'although it may be' (*quoiqu'il soit*) Popular speech, however, continues to use the indicative

418 The concession may bear upon one member of the sentence To meet this case French has extended the use of *que* preceded by a pronoun or adverb *qui que, quoi que, quel que, quelque que, tant que, où que* (*Qui que vous soyez*); cf § 276

419 The concessive subjunctive without a conjunction survives in the inverted expressions *fût-il, eût-il, dût-il* and the like, which denote a hypothetical concession (*Dût-il m'en coûter cent fois plus, je le ferais encore*) Two concessive clauses

presented as alternatives are now introduced by *que* or *soit que* (*Qu'il soit bon, qu'il soit mauvais, je n'en veux pas*), but did not formerly require a conjunction (*Mais soit cette croyance ou fausse ou véritable*, Corneille, Sudre, p 136)

420. The modal value which the future-in-the-past developed (§§ 438–9) has here, too, led to the partial elimination of the subjunctive, and it is used after *quand* or *quand même* *Quand (même) ce serait vrai, il ne faudrait pas l'avouer*, or without a conjunction (the main clause being introduced by a virtually consecutive *que*) *Et je vous promettrais mille fois le contraire, Que je ne serais pas en pouvoir de le faire*, Mol *Mis* 454

Consecutive clauses

421 Modern French continues the O F distinction between the result presented as an accomplished fact or a logical consequence (indicative) and the result envisaged as contingent or prospective (subjunctive as in xv, 6, rarely the future indicative) *Il est si fatigué qu'il ne peut plus travailler, Faites en sorte qu'on ne vous voie pas, Je ferai en sorte qu'il ne l'oubliera pas* After *si, tant*, O F often omitted the conjunction *que* *L'emperedor tant li donez aveir, Franceis n'i ait ki toz ne s'en merveilt, Rol* 570

Conditional clauses

Conditional clauses are usually introduced by *si* They may be classified under the following headings

422 A Nothing implied as to the reality of the condition Here the indicative is the rule, as in Latin, but if there are two conditional clauses, the second often appears as contingent upon the first, accordingly its verb is generally in the subjunctive in O F and the repetition of *si* (or the alternative use of *que*) is not compulsory *Se il se muevent et il me soit conté, Perdu avrez mon cuer et m'amisté*, Gaydon, 668 In Mod F , unless *si* is repeated, *que* + subjv is compulsory *S'il vient et qu'il me voie*

423. B The condition presented as hypothetical or contrary to fact The formal distinction which was made in

C L between the hypothetical or contingent condition (pres subjv or perf subjv) and the contrary-to-fact condition (impf subjv. or ppf subjv) did not survive in French The imperfect subjunctive having disappeared, the pluperfect subjunctive took over its functions and therefore had a two-fold meaning *S'il eust, il donast* (Type I) = 'if he had he would give' and 'if he had had he would have given' This ambiguity was overcome by the use, as early as the eleventh century, of an analytic pluperfect *S'il eust eu, il eust doné* (Type II), the simple forms *eu(s)t* and *dona(s)t* continuing to be used as pure imperfect subjunctives, whence the types *S'il eût eu, il donnât* (Type III) and *S'il eût, il eût donné* (Type IV) As in other cases (§§ 413, 420), the conditional (future-in-the-past) tended to usurp the function of the subjunctive, and it appears in the apodosis (rarely in the protasis), whence the type *S'il eût, il donnerait* (Type V) The conditional in the apodosis brought with it the use of the imperfect indicative in the protasis *S'il avait, il donnerait* (Type VI) and similarly *S'il avait eu, il aurait donné* The imperfect indicative is sometimes used for the compound tense in the apodosis of this type in order to give greater vividness to the action (*S'il avait résisté, il mourait* 'if he had resisted he was as good as dying' The pluperfect (or imperfect) indicative in the protasis is sometimes combined with the pluperfect (or imperfect) subjunctive in the apodosis *S'il avait eu, il eût donné* (Type VII) and very rarely *S'il avait, il donnât*

424 Of the above seven types, which do not exhaust all the possible combinations, but may be taken as representative, those which show the subjunctive continue to be used as late as the seventeenth century They have disappeared from the spoken language with the subsequent elimination of the imperfect subjunctive (§ 441) In the literary language the pluperfect subjunctive alone continues to be used (in constructions of Type II) Type VI, which is found as early as the twelfth century, is the normal construction employed in present-day French

425 As already indicated, the conditional (future-in-the-

past) does not normally appear in the protasis of a genuine conditional sentence, but examples of its use are to be found in O F and in seventeenth-century writers (*S'ils auraient aime ces promesses leur témoignage n'eût pas eu de force*, Pascal, Haase, p 103), and it is common in popular speech and dialects Other apparent exceptions are to be attributed to the special use of the conditional as an attenuated present (§ 439) (*Le diable m'emporte si je l'aurais deviné*, Regn ; *ib*) or to the fact that the conditional itself depends upon a second implied condition (*Frappe, ou si tu le crois indigne de tes coups, Ou si d'un sang trop vil ta main serait trempée* , Racine, Tobler, *Verm Beitr* III, p 60)

426 Conditional clauses embodying a wish regularly take the subjunctive They are introduced in Latin by the conjunctions DUM, MODO, DUMMODO, in French by *pourvu que* (O F. *por que, poruec que, por ço que, por tant que*) *J'y consens, pourvu qu'il n'y revienne pas* Similarly, the subjunctive is regularly employed after *sans que, à moins que* (Latin NISI) *Ne dites rien sans qu'il vous le permette*, in O F. *se* (*si*) with a following negative is sometimes used in such a case (*S'en ma mercit ne se colzt a mes piez E ne guerpisset la lei de chrestiens, Jo li toldrai la corone del chief, Rol* 2682), a construction which persists in the sixteenth century (*Je ne viendray pas si vostre pere n'y soit*, Palissy, S de V 239) The optional use of the indicative after *à condition que* results from the fact that *condition* has not entirely lost its substantival force and that the clause may therefore be treated as a *que*-clause depending on *condition* (*Je vous pardonne à condition que vous ne le ferez plus*) On the other hand, *en cas que* has become completely fused and is regularly followed by the subjunctive (*En cas que vous soyez occupé, je ne vous le demanderai pas*).

COMPARATIVE CLAUSES[1]

427. The indicative has always been the rule in comparisons of equality and in those comparisons of inequality which leave no doubt as to the reality of the second term (*Il es,*

[1] Cf §§ 217, 455

plus riche que je n'avais cru). If the case is envisaged as hypothetical, O F continues the Latin use of the subjunctive (II, 17)

428 The French equivalent of Latin QUAM UT is *que que*, and this is sometimes found in O F (*J'aimerois mieus qu'un Escos venist d'Escoce et gouvernast le pueple dou roiaume que que tu le gouvernasses malapertement*, Joinv 21, S de V 251), but the cacophonous repetition of *que* is generally avoided The second *que* is sometimes omitted, just as UT was sometimes dispensed with in Latin (II, 17, VII *b*, 19, *Miex amasse estre d'un pié manc, Que tu eusses marremens*, Renart, II, 325), or *non pas, non point, pas*, or *point* are intercalated (*Il arrive bien plus souvent qu'on admire trop que non pas qu'on admire trop peu*, Descartes, Haase, 103 *a*). Both of these constructions are common in the seventeenth century, and the former is still found; but Mod F prefers the alternative construction with the infinitive (*Il nous arrive bien plus souvent d'admirer trop que d'admirer trop peu*)

429 In comparisons of equality, *comme* regularly introduced the dependent clause, but *que* has gradually supplanted it, *comme* being confined to cases where there is no correlative adverb (*aussi, si*) in the main clause *Il est bien aussi riche que vous croyez, Il n'est pas si* (or *aussi*) *riche que vous croyez, Il sera aussi patient que vous voudrez.* A clause introduced by *comme si* is virtually conditional (the apodosis being implied), and accordingly the subjunctive is often found (*A l'iglise se fist porter Cume s'il ne peust aler*, Wace, *Roman de Rou*, 604, cf III, 48); in Mod F only the pluperfect (*Il était abattu, comme s'il eût essuyé un refus*)

430 For Mod F *plus . . plus* 'the more . . . the more', older usage presents a number of variants which do not survive the seventeenth century *plus et plus*, (*cum*) *plus*, (*tant*) *plus, d'autant plus que . tant plus, tant plus . . . tant plus* (XI, 5; *Tant plus le vois et plus m'assotte*, Pathelin, 209)

TENSE

Present indicative

431 The present indicative is used substantially as in Latin The so-called Historic Present was not subject to the same restrictions in the older periods of the language as obtain in Mod F (VI, 43, X, 94, XIV, 87, 102) As late as the seventeenth century one finds examples of the intermingling of the present and past tenses in the same sentence (cf Haase, 65)

To denote a future action C L rarely employed the present, but in V L it would appear to have usurped for a time the functions of the future In O F it is used of a more remote future than would be possible in Mod F

Past definite, past indefinite, imperfect

432 The Latin perfect served a double function in C L, that of a preterite or past historic and that of a present perfect It survives in Mod F as the Past Definite with the former function The latter function is in French taken over by a new compound perfect, the Past Indefinite (*j'ai chanté*) The point of departure of the type *j'ai chanté* is the Latin construction HABEO + past participle (HABEO LITTERAS SCRIPTAS), in which the past participle is still adjectival and HABERE preserves its full meaning But even in C L this construction had already begun to develop a temporal significance A slight change in the point of view from which the statement is regarded sufficed to change the force of HABEO LITTERAS SCRIPTAS from 'I have the letter [which is] written' to 'I have written the letter' From denoting a state, the construction came to denote the action which produced the state The meaning of HABERE was lost sight of, and it was reduced to the rôle of an auxiliary, the participle being so closely linked with it that the two together are the equivalent of a simple tense, a present perfect Such was its meaning in O F, but its origin was still reflected in the tendency to make the

participle agree with the direct object regardless of the position of the latter (§ 374) *Li emperere s'est culcét en un pret, si at vestut sun blanc osberc* (IV, 91) 'and he has his white halberk on'. Yet even in O F it began to develop a purely preterite meaning, as can be seen from the first verb in the example just quoted The new perfect (Past Indefinite) was thereby brought into line with the Past Definite, which had inherited the preterite meaning of the Latin perfect But the use of the Past Definite had in the meantime been extended to cover some of the functions which are the natural domain of the Imperfect, and it therefore occupied an ambiguous position between two tenses that had the advantage of presenting none of the formal anomalies of the Past Definite

433 The result of these developments has been the progressive elimination of the Past Definite (*je chantai*) In the spoken language its preterite functions have been completely taken over by the Past Indefinite (*j'ai chanté*) and its descriptive functions by the Imperfect (*je chantais*) The Past Definite survives in the speech of certain outlying provinces only In the written language the Past Definite continues to lose ground and tends more and more to be used only in the third person, the Past Indefinite taking its place in the first and second persons The Past Indefinite is used whenever the past action is closely connected with the present state *Il a habité Paris pendant deux ans*, the action is completed, but the connection with the present state lies in the implication that the action is recent and that the person in question does not live in Paris now On the other hand *Il habita Paris pendant deux ans* contains no such implication and there is no connection whatever with the present state Therefore the sentence 'He went there twice this week' would be rendered by *Il y est allé deux fois cette semaine* and not by *Il y alla deux fois cette semaine*

434 The Past Definite has thus lost more than all the ground it had usurped in O F at the expense of the Imperfect Modern French writers tend more and more to use the Imperfect, where one might, according to the formal rules of

grammar, expect the Past Definite, in their hands the Imperfect often becomes an artistic device for presenting a past action more graphically, as something actually going on before the mind's eye This development is part of a wider change in outlook the modern tendency to envisage the past as a scene or a picture, whereas to the medieval mind it appeared above all as action We may say that, broadly speaking, Mod F prefers the static tense (Imperfect), while O F preferred the dynamic (Past Definite) Modern French employs the Past Definite only to denote an action or series of actions presented as having happened at a given time in the past, the Imperfect to describe an action or series of actions in progress at a given time in the past Old French differs from Mod F above all in its tendency to present in the former way what Mod F normally presents in the latter

435 The redistribution of the functions of the three tenses under consideration is in its broad outlines completed by the end of the sixteenth century Since then grammarians have defined them with greater precision, but the spoken language carries on the analogical levelling out and generalization of analytic constructions The written language, partly impelled by the desire to achieve greater expressiveness, partly under the influence of popular speech, shows at the present day a growing restiveness under the yoke of formal rules

Pluperfect indicative

436 The Latin pluperfect falls a victim to a progressive obliteration of its original meaning to that of a mere perfect This process had begun in Latin and is completed by the time we reach the earliest O F texts, where the pluperfect is occasionally used, and always as a past historic tense (cf II, notes) New compound forms take its place HABEBAM CANTATUM (*j'avais chanté*) and HABUI CANTATUM (*j'eus chanté*) corresponding to the Imperfect and Past Definite respectively As in the case of the simple tenses, O F differs from Mod F by its tendency to employ the form *j'eus chanté* (Passé Antérieur), this is now confined to the literary language, and is

compulsory in the temporal clause if the principal verb is in the Past Definite (*Quand il eut fini son travail, il partit*). In the spoken language it has been displaced by the so-called Parfait Surcomposé (*j'ai eu chanté*), which first appears in Mid F. and becomes general in the sixteenth century; since then it has gradually forced its way into the written language, but it is always associated with a familiar style. The pluperfect subjunctive *j'eusse chanté* is similarly rendered by *j'aie eu chanté*.

Future and future perfect

437 As has been pointed out, the Latin future gave place in V L to a new periphrastic form consisting of the inf + pres ind of HABERE Similarly, a new compound was formed to fulfil the function of the future perfect (*j'aurai chanté*) An analogous periphrasis consisting of pres ind. of *aller* + inf is frequently employed to denote a near future (*Je vais partir demain*). The future describes an action as future in relation to the present; but its temporal meaning may be partly obliterated, and it may therefore be used to postulate an action as a concession (*Il dira tout ce qu'il voudra, personne ne le croira*), or as a supposition (*Pourquoi ne vient-il pas? Il sera malade*) The future perfect may be similarly employed (*Il se promène devant sa porte il aura oublié sa clef*) The future may also be used to express a peremptory command (*Tu rentreras avant sept heures!*).

Future-in-the-past and future-perfect-in-the-past

438 These forms are parallel to the Future and the Future Perfect and describe, respectively, an action which is future in relation to the past (*je chanterais*), and an action anterior to another action which is future in relation to the past (*j'aurais chanté*) In the same way as the temporal meaning of the future may be obliterated (§ 437), so the future-in-the-past may be employed to describe an action as contingent or hypothetical, and it is to this modal use that it owes its

alternative name, the Conditional (*Je le ferais, si je pouvais*). The modal use dates from V L , when the infinitive and HABERE had not yet completely fused, when HABERE maintained much of its original force and was practically equivalent to DEBERE (cf Engl. 'I have to admit') The obliteration of the temporal meaning, and the consequent use of the form *chanterais* (CANTARE + HABEBAM) to denote an action as contingent or hypothetical in relation to the present or future, is analogous to the temporal shifting already noted in connection with the Latin pluperfect subjunctive (§§ 279, 423)

439 The condition upon which the action denoted by the future-in-the-past is contingent may be expressed by a *si*-clause or its equivalent (§§ 422–6), or it may be merely implied (*Vous me demandez mon avis, eh bien! je ferais comme vous*) Similarly, the conditional may serve merely to indicate that the action is uncertain, or that the statement is not advanced on the speaker's responsibility (*D'après les journaux le ministre aurait exprimé sa satisfaction*), or qualified by some reservation in the mind of the speaker or a desire to tone it down (*Je ne dirais pas que vous ayez raison*), cf *je pourrais* 'I might', *je devrais* 'I should', *je voudrais* 'I should like to', and the common use of the conditional of *savoir* (*Je ne saurais vous remercier assez* 'I don't know how to thank you enough', *Il ne saurait être question de rendre cet argent* 'One could not think of returning the money') Cf also §§ 397, 400, 404, 413, 420

Tenses of the subjunctive

440 To replace the Latin perfect subjunctive a new compound form was created (*j'aie chanté*), which is found in the earliest O F texts The pluperfect subjunctive supplanted the imperfect For a time it preserved its original function as well (§ 423), but this has been taken over by a new compound form (*j'eusse chanté*) For the use of these tenses and of the present subjunctive in the main clause and in conditional sentences, see §§ 399–400, 421–6 After verbs followed by *que* + subjv , the rule governing the sequence of tenses is the pres. subjv and perf subjv (*j'aie chanté*) are used in the

dependent clause if the principal verb is in the present, future, or past indefinite, the imperf subjv. (*je chantasse*) and the ppf subjv (*j'eusse chanté*) are used in the dependent clause if the principal verb is in the imperfect, the past definite, the conditional, or the pluperfect

441. The elimination of the past definite (§§ 433–4) brought with it the elimination of the impf subjv. and ppf subjv, and they are no longer used in the spoken language the former is replaced by the present, the latter by the perfect (*j'aie chanté*) or the new compound form *j'aie eu chanté* (cf § 436) Even in the literary language the impf and ppf subjv are fast falling into disuse Various factors contribute to this decline the endings of the 1st and 2nd pl stand apart as the only disyllabic endings, *-assions, -assiez* are felt to be cacophonous (*chassassions, arrachassions*, etc); *-issions, -issiez* do not permit of a distinction between the impf ind and pres subjv of inchoative verbs (*finissions, finissiez*) The result is that the 1st and 2nd pl. of the impf subjv are generally avoided, and in the case of *-er* verbs the only form regularly employed is the 3rd sing (*chantât*)

D *ADVERBS*

442 In spite of extensive losses, a large number of Latin adverbs have persisted in French *ailleurs* (? < ALIORSUM), *en* (< INDE), *hier* (< HERI), *là* (< ILLAC), *où* (< UBI), *quand* (< QUANDO), *tant* (< TANTUM), *tard* (< TARDE), *très* (< TRANS), (< IBI) Others were still in use in the O F period. *es* or *ais* or *eis* (< ECCE), *hui* (< HODIE) preserved in *aujourd'hui*, *ja* (< JAM) preserved in *déjà* and *jadis*, *jus* (< DEORSUM under the influence of SU(R)SUM > *sus*), *main* (< MANE) preserved in *demain*, *mais* (< MAGIS) (XI, 16) preserved in *jamais*, *moult* (< MULTUM), *ont* (< UNDE) preserved in *dont* (XI, 15), *par* (< PER) 'very', *pruef* (< PROPE), *riere* (< RETRO) preserved in *arrière* and *derrière*, *sez* (< SATIS) preserved in *assez*, *si* (< SIC) preserved in *ainsi* and *aussi*

443 The final *s*, which is etymological in many adverbs, came to be regarded as a distinctive adverbial ending and was extended by analogy to others *jadis* (JAM DIU), *loin*, O F *loinz* (LONGE), *tandis* (TAM DIU), *volontiers* (VOLUNTARIE) In O F both forms often existed side by side *onques* and *onque* (< UNQUAM), *nonques* and *nonque* (< NUNQUAM), *or(e)s* (whence *lors*, *alors*) and *or(e)* (< AD HORAM), *rien* and *riens* (XII, 114)

444 To replace adverbs which did not survive, and to meet new needs, a variety of new creations were resorted to A common device consists in the adverbial use of adjectives *peu* (< PAUCUM), *voir(e)* (< VERA), *chanter faux*, *parler haut*, etc Borrowing is rare *guère* (Germ weigaro), O F *trop* 'very', 'rather' (Germ *þorp 'conglomeration', cf Engl 'thorpe')

445 Composition has remained one of the most fruitful sources The fusion is complete in the earlier formations (see above) *assez* (< AD SATIS), *dans* (*de* + *ens* or *enz* < INTUS), *dont* (< DE UNDE), *ensemble* (< IN SIMUL), *ici* (< ECCE HIC), *oui*, O F *oil* (< HOC ILLE), *cependant*, *dedans*, *désormais*, *dessus*, *dessous*, *maintenant* Later compound forms do not necessarily fuse *de près*, *au-dessous*, *nulle part*, *sur-le-champ*, *sans doute*, *peut-être*, and are often more accurately described as adverbial phrases *tête-à-tête*, *vis-à-vis*

446 Most numerous are new formations in *-ment*, which persists as a productive suffix, and as such is sometimes added to substantives (*bêtement*, *diablement*), or even to an adverb (*mesmement*, XIII, 13, *comment*, der of *comme*) Originally it was a substantive (abl sing of MENS) which formed a compound with the preceding feminine adjective in the same case BONA MENTE 'in a good manner', cf English formations in *-wise* (*likewise*, etc) Adjectives which did not originally possess a feminine form in *-e* (§§ 187, 189) show assimilation of the final consonant to the following *m* *for(t)ment*, *grie(f)-ment*, *gramment*, *loyaument* With the development of an analogical feminine (*forte*, etc), such forms began to be re-modelled, they had by the end of the sixteenth century disappeared, with the exception of adverbs formed from adjectives in *-ant* and

-ent, whether originally uni-form (*élégamment, constamment, prudemment, savamment*) or bi-form (*violemment* for *violentement* < VIOLENTA MENTE), but *lentement* (< LENTA MENTE) has resisted the levelling tendency, *présentement* and *véhémentement* are analogical creations, *gentiment* for *gentilment* is perhaps due to the analogy of *joliment* (see below)

447 Adjectives which possessed a distinctive form for the feminine regularly gave adverbs in *-ement* The feminine *e* early became mute after a vowel (*joli(e)ment, hardi(e)ment, vrai(e)ment*), its loss being often indicated by a circumflex accent (*dûment, crûment*, cf § 367), there is still hesitation in spelling between *gaiement* and *gaîment, nuement* and *nûment* In this way *-éement* (*aiséement, séparéement*) regularly gave *-ément* in Mod F, whence by analogy new forms in *-ément* for etymological *-ement* (*confusément, profondément, obscurément*) Apart from such re-modellings, *e* persists if a consonant precedes *bonnement, faussement, heureusement, nouvellement, brièvement* shows the old form of the adjective *br(i)ef, br(i)ève*, for *traîtreusement* beside *traître*, see § 204

448 Adverbs form their comparative in the same way as adjectives (§ 214) The following synthetic forms have survived *mieux* (< MĔLIUS), *moins* (< MĬNUS), *pis* (< PĔJUS) beside *plus mal, plus* (< PLŪS)

For the place of the adverb in the sentence, see § 488

Negation

449 French inherited from Latin the negative NON and the compound forms NEC (NEQUE) > *ne*, Mod F *ni*, NUNQUAM (NE + UNQUAM) > O F *nonque(s)* (II, 13) In French, *non* appears in two forms, accented *non* and unaccented *ne* The alternative unaccented form *nen*, which is sometimes used in O F, but only before a vowel (III, 38, V, 42), has not survived, except in *nenni* (NON ILLE), cf *oui*, O F *oil* (< HOC ILLE)

450 The accented form *non* was employed in O F before finite parts of the verb (particularly of *être, avoir, faire*), and in Mid F was very common before the infinitive and present participle (whence *nonchalant*, and Learned *nonobstant*) In

reply to a question the use of *non* is elliptical *Le ferez-vous demain?* *Non* (*ferai*), cf XII, 69, 73 It is also used to negative one of the elements of a sentence *Il parle de son frère et non de vous*, *Il l'a entrepris non sans succès* Other survivals of the former wide use of *non* are *sinon*, *non que*, *non plus*, *non pas*, it also figures as a prefix in *non-sens*, *non-conformité*, and the like

451 Originally *ne* was used without an accompanying particle (*pas*, *point*, etc),[1] but very early it began to be strengthened by the addition of a substantive or an adverb *pas* (< PASSUM), *point* (< PUNCTUM), *mie* (< MICA), *goutte* (< GUTTA), *guère* (Germ weigaro), *rien* (< REM), *mais* (< MAGIS), *jamais* (*ja* + *mais*), *plus* (< PLUS), *aucun*, *mot*, *personne* The particles *goutte* and *mie* were formerly used much more extensively, but were already losing ground in the seventeenth century, *goutte* survives, but is considered familiar and is practically confined to *je n'y vois goutte* By the fifteenth century *pas* and *point* had become recognized as the normal negative particles In O F many other words were similarly employed *âme*, *bouton*, *chose*, *denier*, *grain*, *nient*, etc , cf the Mod F *On ne voit âme qui vive* = *On ne voit personne*

452 The constant use of these words as negative particles resulted in a weakening of their meaning and in their extension (e g PASSUM 'a pace' with verbs other than verbs of motion), and gradually they came to be invested with a negative meaning,[2] *ne*, being a mere proclitic and incapable of bearing a stress, is correspondingly weakened and tends to be omitted as unessential In popular speech its omission has become almost the rule In the literary language it is omitted only in replies to questions (*L'avez-vous vu?* *Pas encore* or *Jamais*), in exclamatory or elliptical phrases (*Pas de bruit!* *Point d'affaires*), sometimes in questions (*Vient-il pas?*), but its omission was formerly common in conditional sentences and indirect questions (XV *b*, 4)

453 The constant use of *ne* before the verb, even if it is another word in the sentence that is negatived, caused it to

[1] Cf Montaigne's addition of *point* in Extr XVI, 6

[2] Similarly *aucunement*, still positive in XVI, 3

be used pleonastically with *nul* and *ni* (O F *ne* < NEC) Accordingly *nul* is reduced to the same rôle as *personne*, *aucun*, and in O F is sometimes used with positive meaning (XVI, 21). Similarly O F *neis*, *nes* or *nis* (< NEC IPSE) often means 'even'. In O F., *ni* generally appears in the weakened form *ne* (II, 7–8; IV, 58, XII, 23), which is still occasionally used in the seventeenth century (*ne plus ne moins*). It was formerly used much more extensively, but seldom with full negative force unless accompanied by *ne* (< NON); cf XI, 15, 86 In fact, whereas NEC = ET NON, *ni* became almost the equivalent of *et* or *ou* and was often used in O F where Mod F employs *et* or *ou* *Plus est isnels qued esperviers n'aronde* (*Rol* 1535), *N'i remandrat ja porte ne postiz en estant, tant sert forz ne pesanz* (*Voyage de Ch* 475), *Elle écouta son arrêt sans frayeur ni sans faiblesse* (Mme de Sévigné, Haase, 140)

454 In spite of the generalization of the negative complementary particle, Mod F still makes a fairly extensive use of the simple *ne* (*a*) in fixed locutions (*À Dieu ne plaise*, *N'importe*, *Il n'est pire eau que l'eau qui dort*) or verbal constructions of the type *n'avoir garde*, *n'avoir cure*, (*b*) optionally with *cesser* + inf (*Il ne cesse de parler*), with *oser*, *savoir*, *pouvoir*, (*c*) with restrictive *que* (*Il n'a que deux livres*), which is originally comparative 'not more than two books', whence 'only two books' (cf XVI, 1), the negative 'not only' being rendered by the insertion of *pas* (*Il n'a pas que deux livres*), (*d*) after exclamatory *qui* or *que* (*Que n'est-il venu!*, *Qui ne voit la raison de tout cela!*), (*e*) often in subordinate clauses introduced by conditional *si*, final *que*, or depending upon a negative, or expressing a condition by inversion (*Je n'ai pas d'amis qui ne soient les vôtres*, *N'eût été la guerre* 'had it not been for the war')

455 In a different category are the many uses of so-called expletive *ne*, introduced because of the negative idea which is implied and obtrudes upon the attention of the speaker Expletive *ne* is the result of semantic contamination and is, from the syntactic point of view, pleonastic or illogical In comparative clauses of inequality, such as *Il est plus riche que vous ne croyez*, the presence of *ne* is due to the negative idea

'you do not realize how rich he is', cf also the older use of *non pas* in such phrases (§ 428), popular speech tends to omit this *ne*, and its use has been made optional by the Decree of 1901 After verbs of fearing the presence of *ne* is due to the wish that what is feared may not happen (*Je crains que vous ne soyez dérangé*), there has always been much hesitation in the use of this *ne*, and while grammarians demand its use, popular speech generally dispenses with it, the Decree of 1901 made it optional Similar hesitation obtains after *empêcher*, *éviter*, formerly also *défendre*, after verbs of negation or doubt used negatively (*Je ne doute pas que vous n'ayez fait votre possible*), and after *il s'en faut*, *avant que*, *à moins que*

The place of the negative complementary particle

456 Normally the particle follows the verb In the compound tenses it comes between the auxiliary and the past participle (except *personne* and *aucun*), but this order was not yet fixed in the seventeenth century Both *ne* and the particle (except *personne* and *aucun*) precede the infinitive (*ne pas le faire*), but in the seventeenth century this was not yet the rule if a personal pronoun preceded, the word-order *ne le faire pas* (cf also XVI, 85), and still more commonly *ne le pas faire*, was observed, generally, the particle could come after the infinitive more freely than in Mod F The particle was frequently placed at the beginning of the sentence in medieval usage, particularly if the subject is unexpressed (XIV, 63, cf the Mod F survival *Pas n'est besoin*), *jamais* can still precede *ne* for emphasis (*Jamais je n'ai vu un homme si bête*) *Personne*, *rien*, *pas un*, etc , can, as indefinite pronouns, stand as subjects of the verb and precede *ne* *Personne* (or *Pas un*) *n'est arrivé*

E *PREPOSITIONS*

457 The important rôle played by prepositions in Mod F , as compared with C L , is largely the result of the general analytical trend of the language Syntactic relations which

are now rendered by means of prepositions were in Latin rendered by means of case-endings But even in Latin prepositions were often employed to make the syntactic relations more explicit With the reduction of the Latin cases to two, subject case and oblique case, prepositions became a practical necessity (cf § 173) The function of the genitive is generally served by *de* + oblique case, that of the dative by *à* + oblique case, most of the functions of the ablative are taken over by *de*, but some are shared with other prepositions *par*, *avec* to denote the instrument, *à*, *en*, *avec*, manner; *à*, *dans*, place The frequent use of *de* and *à* as the equivalent of case flexions and their consequent loss of explicitness have caused them to give way often to new and more explicit formations (*à cause de*, *au moyen de*, *de la part de*) The tendency to replace the simple prepositions by a compound form or prepositional phrase persists from Latin down to the present day (see below) In addition to the extension in meaning and function of existing prepositions and the formation of new ones by composition, the commonest form of creation (which French inherited from Latin) consists in the prepositional use of adverbs, adjectives, substantives, and participles

458 Of the Latin prepositions some have persisted in French with very little change of meaning or function (SINE > *sans*), others show restriction (ULTRA > *outre*, SUPER or SUPRA > *sur*) or extension of meaning (AD > *à*, DE > *de*) A preposition may fall into disuse because its functions are fulfilled by another which is more frequently used (*joste*, *estre*), more expressive (*entre*), or less exposed to homonymic confusion (*od*, *en*) A certain number of Latin prepositions did not persist in French (CORAM, PROPTER, etc), others did not survive the Middle Ages *estre* (< EXTRA), *joste* (< JUXTA) and its compound *dejoste* were rare even in O F , *od* or *o* (< APUD) (IV, 3, 9) 'with', 'near', 'at', survives in modern patois, but disappeared from literary usage towards the end of the fifteenth century, being replaced by *à*, *avec*, *chez*, *très* (< TRANS) 'beyond', 'behind', has survived only as an adverb, while *detrès* has completely disappeared, ANTE survives only in compounds

(*avant* < AB ANTE) and in the O F derivative *ainz*, *einz*, *ains* (< *ANTIUS), an adverb which came to be used as a preposition and as a conjunction, but has since been replaced by *avant*, *devant*, POST is similarly represented by a derivative *puis* (< *POSTIUS for POSTEA), which could be used as a preposition in O F (*puis cel temps*), the compound form *depuis* being still used as either preposition or adverb, EX survives in the compound *dès* (< DE EX)

The following have survived in Mod F

459 *entre* (< INTER), less widely used than formerly, was commonly employed in O F in combination with *et* *entre* *et* 'both . . and', and was often used in the seventeenth century where Mod F requires *d'entre* (*lequel entre vous*) It has given ground before *parmi*

selon probably resulted from the contamination of **se-on* (< SECUNDUM) + *lonc* (< LONGUM), both *son* and *lonc* were used in O F with the meaning 'along', 'alongside of'

outre (< ULTRA) 'beyond' is no longer used in a locative sense, except in set expressions (*outre mer*, *outre mesure*)

sur for O F *sour(e)* (< SUPER or SUPRA) shows the contaminating influence of *sus* (< SURSUM) The meaning 'above' has been taken over almost completely by *au-dessus de* O F also possessed a compound form *desur* (x, 69)

460. *à* (< AD) inherited most of the functions of Latin AD and of the dative case It further inherited some of the functions of AB, with which AD had been confused in V L Its use was further extended by analogy until it came to denote a whole range of notions (attribute *un verre à pied*, manner or measure *à la française*, *à cinq pour cent*, purpose *la boîte aux lettres*), some of which are very remote from the original notion expressed by AD, viz tendency, direction, goal, objective It has encroached upon the domain of other prepositions, such as *od* (< APUD) On the other hand it has, since the Middle Ages, given ground somewhat before other more expressive and more explicit prepositions *avec* to denote means, instrument, *dans*, *en*, *sur* to indicate direction or place, and it has been suppressed in certain expressions of

time *cette fois*, *ce soir*, and the like It is still used in popular speech to denote possession (*le livre à Jean*), but this use is found in literary usage only in predicative expressions, such as *Ce livre est à Jean*, or with personal pronouns to strengthen a possessive (*son livre à lui*) Before names of towns O F preferred *en* to *à* (*en Costentinoble*). For the use of *à* before an infinitive, see §§ 297–8

461 *de* (< DE) originally denoted the point of departure of a movement and allied notions (origin, cause, manner), but before the end of the V L period its extension at the expense of AB and EX, and its use for the genitive (and to a large extent for the ablative), had made it the commonest preposition Further, the extension of *de* as a partitive genitive led to the creation of the partitive article (§§ 230–5) From the use of *de* for the Latin ablative of means or instrument there developed its use to denote the agent in passive constructions (*un homme aimé de tout le monde*), in Mod F, *de* has in this latter use lost a certain amount of ground to *par* *De* further replaces the ablative of measure after comparative expressions (cf § 217) and is used in this sense in a variety of expressions (*plus grand de la moitié*, *haut de six pieds*). It continues to be used with the meaning 'concerning' (cf XII, 86), and has been much extended, particularly after verbs, the many cases in which *de* is used in O F (and sometimes in Mod F) before substantives and pronouns without any specific meaning may be explained as a weakening of this function (*De sa mort est granz damages* 'Alas for his death!', XIV, 12, XVI, 90, *Ce que c'est que de nous!*), in O F it was often used in exclamatory phrases (*Filz Alexis! de ta dolente medre!* Alexis, 396) For the prodigious extension of *de* before the infinitive, see §§ 296, 298

462 *par* (< PER) We have already noted the growing use of *par* to denote the agent in passive constructions The allied meanings of cause and manner (*Il a péché par ignorance*, *Il m'a sommé par lettre*) are now less frequently rendered by *par* than in the seventeenth century In the locative sense 'through', 'across', 'throughout', *par* has gradually lost ground to more

expressive compound forms (*à travers, partout dans*), but is still commonly used to indicate direction (*Par où a-t-il passé?* *Il a sauté par la fenêtre*) As a temporal preposition it has been practically eliminated in Mod F by *pendant* and *durant*, but is still used in expressions descriptive of the weather (*par la pluie, par un beau jour d'été*)

pour (< *POR for PRO under the influence of PER) has been extended to denote purpose, motive, destination, whence also cause (*C'est pour cela qu'il pleure, Je le connais pour l'avoir pratiqué*) In the latter sense it was formerly employed much more extensively (IX, 22, XIII, 27) and prefixed to the pres inf (XVI, 22) no less than the perfect, and in the conjunction *pour ce que* (for modern *parce que*) It was also widely used with concessive force (*Pour grands que soient les rois, ils sont ce que nous sommes*, Corn *Le Cid*, 157) The Latin locative use has not survived

463 *en* (< IN) This preposition, which was one of the commonest in Latin, has lost ground almost continuously in French The Latin meaning 'upon' persisted in O F, but survives in Mod F only in set expressions (*casque en tête*) The distinction between *en huit jours* and *dans huit jours* 'at the end of eight days' is modern, O F used *en* to express both notions The chief reason for the progressive elimination of *en* in favour of *dans* (and in a lesser degree of other prepositions, *à, par*, etc) lies in the fact that it combined with the definite article (*en le* > *eu, ou* and *en les* > *els* > *ès*) Towards the end of the Middle Ages *ou* began to be confused with *au*, and consequently also *ès* with *aux*, *en* ceased to be employed with *le, les*, and was replaced by *dans* (cf § 139) It survives with a variety of meanings, in expressions which have become more or less fixed and show the older tendency to omit the definite article (§ 225) after prepositions *en France, en considération de, mettre en morceaux, en français, se mettre en colère, fertile en suggestions*, and the like The use of *en* in the sense of 'in the manner of', 'in the capacity of', dates from Late Latin and has been much extended in Mod F, often replacing the older use of a predicative substantive *Il parle en artiste, Je vous conseille en ami*

464 New prepositions created by the utilization of adverbs *sous* (< SUBTUS), whence the compound *dessous* (XII, 80), *enz* (< INTUS), of adjectives *sauf* (< SALVUM), originally inflected, *long* (< LONGUM) 'beside', 'alongside of', replaced by *le long de, près de, à côté de, tout* (< *TŌTTUM) and *atout* (XI, 50) 'with', of participles *pendant, vu, excepté,* some of which were already used prepositionally in Latin, *vers* (< VERSUM, p p of VERTERE), whence *devers, envers, près* (< PRESSUM), *après* (< AD PRESSUM), more rarely of substantives *chez,* O F *chies(e)* (< CASA), O F *lez* (< LATUS), surviving in *Plessis-les-Tours* and the like, *fors* (< FORIS used adverbially in Latin), which, together with *defors,* survives in Eastern dialects *Hors* is derived from *dehors,* which represents an irregular development of L L DEFORIS, presumably by the loss of *f* and the introduction of a hiatus-*h*

465 As has already been indicated, many new prepositions were created by composition The fusion is sometimes complete AB ANTE > *avant* (*devant, de devant*), DE INTUS > *denz* > *dans* (*dedans*), DE USQUE > *jusque* (*jusqu'à*), DE RETRO > *derrière,* MALUM GRATUM > *malgré,* AB HOC > *avuec* > *avec,* later formations *encontre* (now only found in *à l'encontre de*), *parmi, envers, depuis,* O F *devers* (X, 55), *emprés, endroit* (X, 77), *ensemble, enmi, amont, contremont* (X, 75), *contreval, entour, environ* Many prepositional phrases were created later and do not show fusion *en dehors de, vis-à-vis de, hors de, en face de, par rapport à, au-delà de*

F *CONJUNCTIONS*

466 Of the vast number of Latin conjunctions, very few have survived in French ET > *e,* now written *et,* AUT > *ou,* NEC > *ne,* replaced in the sixteenth century by *ni* (cf § 453), SI > *se,* replaced by *si* (cf § 134), usually conditional, but capable of developing causal or concessive force (*S'il est juste, il n'en est pas moins dur, S'il le demande, ce n'est pas une raison pour le lui donner*), and in popular speech often strengthened by the addition of *que,* QUANDO > *quant,* now written *quand,* originally an interrogative adverb, but used already in Latin

as a temporal or causal conjunction, and continued to be so used in O F (III, 55, XII, 33) In Mod.F *quand* has lost its causal function, but has on the other hand come to be used (with the conditional in both clauses) concessively, often reinforced by *même* *Quand (même) j'en devrais mourir, je le ferais encore*

467 The following Latin adverbs have similarly come to be used as conjunctions

*ANTIUS (formed on ANTE) > O F *ainz* 'sooner', 'rather', with inversion (*ainz venist le soir*)

MAGIS > *mais* O F 'rather', 'but', Mod F 'but'

QUARE > *car* 'wherefore', 'for', also employed in O F as an intensive particle to reinforce a command (*Car chevalchiez!*) or a wish (V, 22, *Car ousses parlé* 'Would that you might have spoken')

SIC > *si* 'so', 'and so', 'and', very common in O F as a co-ordinating conjunction (II, 24, III, 13)

DUM + TUNC > *donc*, originally temporal

QUOMODO > *comme* (O F *come, com*), originally comparative, but under the influence of Latin CUM, it has come to be used as a temporal and causal conjunction It was formerly extensively used as an interrogative adverb (XVI, 84) and to introduce a substantival clause, but has gradually been supplanted by *comment*, and survives as an adverb of intensity (*Comme c'est beau!*) In comparative clauses of equality it has since O F been displaced by *que*, except when there is no correlative in the principal clause It has similarly given way to *que* in various combinations such as *tandis comme, sitôt comme* *Comme si* and *comme* appear from the beginning as the equivalent of Latin QUASI (III, 48) *Comme* is sometimes used as a co-ordinating conjunction equivalent to *et* (cf the similar use of *ainsi que*)

468 Later formations include the use of *soit, savoir*, and such compounds as *sinon* (O F *se non*, the two elements being separable), *néan(t)moins* (a rendering of NIHILOMINUS), *toutefois* (O F *toutes voies, toute voie*, VI, 1), *pourtant, pour cela, partant, par quoi, cependant* (cf older *ce non obstant*, XIII, 31), *aussi*

(ALIUD SIC), originally comparative, came to be used as a copulative, and when introducing a sentence (with inverted word-order) serves as a causal conjunction (= *ainsi*) But the majority of French conjunctions are formed by the combination of an adverb, preposition or prep + subst with *que*

469 The origin of *que* is a much debated question [1] It is perhaps correct to describe it as in the main a continuation of QUOD, the use of which was much extended in V L at the expense of UT, and particularly in the form of QUOD-clauses replacing the Latin acc + inf There took place at the same time an extension and a weakening in the meaning of the conjunction, and confusion with QUIA, QUEM, QUID The result is that in O F *que* appears as a universal conjunction which often serves merely as an indication that what follows is subordinate to what precedes The precise nature of the subordination was indicated, as in popular or primitive languages generally, by the mood of the dependent verb or by such auxiliary devices as variations of pitch and stress, pauses, and gestures The development of O F as a literary language brought with it a change from this largely paratactic structure to a highly developed syntactic structure, in which the relation between the principal and the dependent clause is indicated more precisely by formal devices, viz a series of conjunctions capable of rendering a whole range of fine distinctions The wide choice of conjunctions that is characteristic of C L , as of literary languages in general, had thus to be re-created in French, and this was done by defining more clearly the force of *que*, which had in the meantime become confused with the relative adverb *que* (§ 266)

470 The conjunction has thus become an important syntactic device, and the rôle of other devices, particularly the subjunctive (cf § 398), has been correspondingly reduced The following list may serve to illustrate the wealth of new creations that French has at its disposal It will be observed

[1] J Jeanjaquet, *Recherches sur l'origine de la conjonction* que *et des formes romanes équivalentes*, Neuchâtel, 1894, R L Græme Ritchie, *Recherches sur la syntaxe de la conjonction* que *dans l'ancien français*, Paris, 1907

that some conjunctions have in the course of time passed from one category to another (*puis que*, originally temporal, becomes causal) or serve a multiple function (*sans que*, concessive, conditional, consecutive), many have been abandoned after a long period of use

471 Temporal *pendant que*, *lorsque*, *alors que*, *avant que*, *aussi longtemps que*, *après que*, *dès que*, *aussitôt que*, *jusqu'à ce que* is already common in the sixteenth century and has displaced older *jusques*, *en jusques*, *jusques que*, *tant que* continued to be used in the sense 'until' as late as the seventeenth century (cf XIV, 30), *tandis que* (O F also *tandis come*), originally purely temporal (XI, 56), came to denote opposition (='whereas'),[1] but of recent years has come to be used more and more in a purely temporal sense, to the disadvantage of *pendant que*, *puisque*, originally temporal, early developed a causal meaning, which alone persisted, while *depuis que* (for older *dès puis que*) is temporal A large number of conjunctions current in O F have disappeared—'while' *endementiers que*, *entrues que*, *en ce que*, *que que*, *quoi que*, *ainsi com*, *si com*, *où que*, 'as long as' *pour tant que*, *tant com*, 'before' *ainz que*, *ançois que*, *premier que*, *primes que* *Aussitôt que* and *sitôt que* have replaced older *si tost comme* (XII, 91), *tantost comme*, and O F *lues que*, *ainsi comme*, *ainsi que*, *manois que*; *soudain que*, *incontinent que*, *subit que* were still used in the sixteenth century, *d'abord que*, *désormais que*, *dès lors que* in the seventeenth, *devant que* and *cependant que* are now obsolete, but were still common in the seventeenth century

472 Causal *vu que*, *attendu que*, *d'autant que*, *de ce que*, *en ce que*, *puisque* (§ 471), *parce que*, which originally denoted means and was rare in O F, became confused with *pour ce que* (XI, 18, 36, 74) and has displaced it since the seventeenth century O F possessed also *pour que*, *pour tant que*, which with later formations, *à cause que*, *considéré que*, *d'autant que* (XVI, 2, 59), continued to be used in the sixteenth century

473 Final *pour que*, *afin que*, *à cette fin que*, O F possessed *pour ce que*, *à ce que*, *à la fin que*, *à celle fin que* (which by popular

[1] *là où*, originally locative came to be used similarly (cf XVI, 35)

confusion became in the sixteenth century *à seule fin que*), 'lest' was rendered in O F by *pour peur que*, since replaced by *de peur que* (seventeenth century also *peur que*) and *de crainte que*

474 Concessive concessive clauses may be introduced by indefinite relative pronouns (interrog pron or adv + *que qui que, quoi que, où que*, etc) or by *tout que, si que, pour que*, or, if the concession applies to the whole clause, by *quoique, bien que, pour peu que, encore que, nonobstant que, soit que* O F often employed the subjunctive alone or reinforced by such words as *tant, tout, bien, encore*, whence ultimately the conjunctions *bien que*, etc *Bien que* has eliminated older *combien que* (common in the sixteenth century and still used in the seventeenth century), which, like *quoique*, was originally intensive (= 'however much'), cf IX, 1, XIII, 58 *Malgré que*, as the equivalent of *bien que*, is a popular feature which is making its way into literature The concessive *soit*, reinforced by *ja* (<JAM), gave rise to a compound form *ja soit que* (commonly written *jasoit que* or *jaçoit que*), which was still used in the seventeenth century, cf English 'be he never so bold'

475 Conditional *à moins que, sans que, pourvu que, à condition que, au cas que, en cas que, pour peu que, sauf que, loin que, outre que, au lieu que, hormis que, posé que, supposé que*, O F *fors (ce) que, fors tant que, pour ce que, pour que, mais que* (VI, 118), *par ainsi que*

476 Consecutive *de sorte que, en sorte que, de façon que* The two elements of consecutive conjunctions have fused much less completely *que* often retains its consecutive force while the adverb or its equivalent serves as a correlative (*Il est si fatigué qu'il ne peut plus marcher*, similarly *tant que, tel que, assez pour que, trop pour que*) If the two elements become permanently linked the meaning of the adverb or adverbial expression is naturally weakened (*de sorte que, de façon que, si bien que, sans que, de manière que*) Similarly, *si que* came to be used in O F as the equivalent of a simple consecutive *que*, *tellement que* has since the seventeenth century recovered

its original intensive force (cf xv *a*, 24) *De mode que* is a sixteenth-century creation under Italian and Spanish influence, and it did not survive the seventeenth century

477 While the simple *que* has thus ceased to be the universal conjunction it once was, it is still extensively used, not only as an adverbial pronoun (*Il y a deux semaines qu'il est parti*, *C'est à vous que je parle*, *au moment que*, cf § 266), but as the usual conjunction introducing a substantival clause (including elliptical *que oui*, *que non*), and as a final conjunction after the imperative (xiv, 56) with a tendency to become temporal (*Attendez que je sois revenu*) It is causal after a question (*Que voulez-vous que vous me tourmentez ainsi?*) or after *non*, *ce n'est pas*, *c'est* (*Il ne comprend pas, c'est qu'il est sourd*), consecutive after a negative main clause (*Il n'ouvre jamais la bouche qu'il ne dise une sottise*) We have already noticed its use in concessive clauses of the type *Je le jurerais qu'il ne le croirait pas* (§ 420) It has gradually become obligatory before an optative or jussive subjunctive in an independent sentence (§§ 329, 399) For the use of *que* (= QUAM) in comparative clauses of equality, after a comparative of inequality (except before a numeral), and for *que que*, see §§ 217, 427–30

478 Contrary to O F usage, *que* is employed in Mod F to introduce the second of two parallel subordinate clauses At first this served to avoid repetition of compound conjunctions embodying *que* (*Il ne veut pas partir parce qu'il n'a pas vu le commandant et qu'il lui faut des renseignements*, cf. also xvi, 5, 97), but later of *quand* and *comme* In the case of *si* its introduction was facilitated by the fact that *que* + subjv was an alternative method of expressing a condition (*s'il vient et que je sois parti*), cf § 422

479 In popular speech and in patois *que* (both as relative adverb and as conjunction) continues to be used much more extensively and often pleonastically (§ 266) The excessive use of *que* was condemned by seventeenth-century grammarians and purists, but is common in classical writers, particularly in Molière Such passages as the following, with its repetition of *que* (rel pron , rel adv , conj), have some-

times been condemned as jargon but are more correctly described as characteristic of popular or careless speech

> Qu'est-ce que cette instance a dû vous faire entendre,
> Que l'intérêt qu'en vous on s'avise de prendre,
> Et l'ennui qu'on auroit que ce nœud qu'on résout
> Vînt partager du moins un cœur que l'on veut tout
> (*Tartuffe*, 1433–6)

480 The practice of introducing *ce* (*ço*) in the main clause as a correlative of the substantival conjunction *que* (*Quant ço veit Guenles qu'ore s'en rit Rodlanz*, *Rol* 303) led to the use of *ce que* as a variant of *que* (*Et ce que je vos voi plorer Me fet grant mal et grant enui*, Chrétien, *Erec*, 2762) While this is no longer used, *de ce que* with indicative is often employed after verbs of feeling as an alternative to *que* + subjv (*Je m'étonne de ce que vous êtes venu* beside *Je m'étonne que vous soyez venu*) and after verbs constructed with *de* (*Je vous remercie de ce que vous êtes venu*), and in popular speech is widely used as an equivalent of *que*, cf the examples from seventeenth-century writers quoted by Brunot, IV, 1080.

481 By a similar development *à ce que* is not only used after verbs constructed with *à* (*consentir*, *s'exposer*, *s'attendre*, but cf XVI, 92), but in popular speech tends to supplant *que* after such verbs as *demander*, *chercher* This is a modern use, and, although it tends to suggest the idea of purpose, it is distinct from the sixteenth-century use of final *à ce que*

482 The omission of *que*, which is common in O F, as is to be expected of a language still largely paratactic (*Respont Rodlanz* '*Ço set hom bien n'ai cure de manace*', *Rol* 293), is no longer tolerated

G *WORD-ORDER*

483 The comparative fixity of Modern French word-order offers a marked contrast with the flexibility of Latin The former is an analytic language, the latter synthetic, that is to say, the process of analysis by which a concept is translated into terms of speech (cf § 16) is much more com-

plete in the case of French The relations between the elements of a sentence are patently revealed to the hearer or reader, partly by the use of prepositions, partly by a logical order (Subject + Verb + Object) The development of the highly analytical Modern French structure with its logical word-order has sometimes been taken to reveal the rational trend of the French mind, but it must be remembered that it represents the culmination of a movement which had begun in V L. and was in part due to the decay of the Latin flexional system The subsequent breakdown of the O F two-case system made the logical word-order in most cases a practical necessity, the force of analogy and the logically-minded grammarians did the rest But as language is never entirely logical (i e a purely analytical presentation of man's thoughts), word-order always presents a certain amount of fluctuation Thus, at all periods of the language we must allow for variations ranging from the direct rendering of the speaker's emotions in disjointed utterance to normal ordered discourse And even the latter is not the same in popular speech as in the literary usage The literary language is always inclined to cling to tradition, and we find that Modern French preserves, not only archaic expressions embodying an older word-order, but certain general 'illogical' features which have an historical explanation. Popular speech, on the other hand, reveals a much closer adherence to the logical word-order

484. *Word-order has thus come to fulfil a very important* syntactic function in Modern French, and as a result it can no longer be utilized, except in a very limited degree, to bring into prominence certain elements of the sentence Nevertheless, while logic can be said to determine the word-order of Modern French, the possibility of securing stylistic effects has not been lost, and modifications of the logical word-order are often induced by the characteristic rhythm of Modern French (cf §§ 145–50) The order Subject + Verb + Object is not often affected (cf § 486), but the place of adverbial adjuncts, the order as between direct object and

indirect object, the place of the attributive adjective, are generally determined by considerations of rhythm, the latter may become imperative, and therefore in effect syntactic rules (e g the place of pronoun objects, cf § 249) Where neither logic nor rhythm determines word-order, the freedom which the language enjoys has sometimes been utilized to make semantic distinctions (e g in the position of the attributive adjective, cf § 218) Quite apart from the latitude which poets, particularly of the Classical School, allow themselves, one may therefore speak of permissive as against obligatory modifications of the logical word-order The artistic use of the former characterizes the stylist, the observance of the latter is imposed partly by inherited tradition, partly by French speech rhythm It is impossible to vary the order of a simple phrase like *Je le dis* with a view to emphasizing any one of its three elements, nor is it possible to violate normal speech rhythm by bringing a strong stress to bear upon *je* or *le* One cannot render '*I* say it' by stressing *Je*, one must say *Moi, je le dis* or *C'est moi qui le dis* Similarly, one may give prominence to the direct object in *J'ai vu cet homme* by placing *cet homme* first, but only on condition that it is set apart and a complete sentence *je l'ai vu* formed independently of it (*Cet homme, je l'ai vu*)

485 The fundamental change in word-order from Latin to Modern French therefore consists in its rise as a syntactic device and its decline as a stylistic device Old French occupies a position midway between Latin and Modern French, to judge from literary works alone, the comparative flexibility of Old French is striking, but in spite of the many liberties which the two-case system permitted, the logical order Subject + Verb + Object was already normal, and in popular speech perhaps general

486 Modern French literary usage preserves the following relics of former liberties

(*a*) If the subject is a substantive and the verb is intransitive, inversion may be employed to give greater prominence to the verb *Restent les motifs de cette démarche*

(*b*) Inversion is now obligatory in intercalated phrases of the type *dit-il, s'écria-t-il* This rule is not observed in popular speech

(*c*) Inversion of verb and personal pronoun subject is the rule if the sentence begins with *à peine, peut-être, en vain, aussi* (in the sense of 'therefore', 'accordingly'), *toujours* (adversative) This is a survival of the O F rule requiring inversion whenever the sentence began with an adverb or an adverbial adjunct This type of inversion was probably due to Germanic influence (cf its survival in Modern German), it became optional in Mid F but is still common in the sixteenth century, since when it has ceased to be optional If the subject is a substantive, it precedes the verb, but is repeated in the form of a pronoun after the verb *Peut-être cet homme n'avait-il pas compris*

(*d*) A similar survival is to be seen in the inversion of subject and verb in a subordinate clause *Il me montra le livre que lui avait donné son ami, L'ambassadeur était sur le point de partir, quand arrivèrent les délégués*

(*e*) If the direct object comes first, Mod F does not tolerate inversion and requires the repetition of the object in the form of a personal pronoun *Cet homme, je l'ai vu* In O F, inversion was common (XI, 2, 29), survives in Mid F (XIII, 13), and is frequently employed by Rabelais (XIV, 115)

(*f*) Old French inversion in sentences beginning with a predicative adjective or substantive has survived in Mod F, but since the sixteenth century the adjective rarely stands at the head of the sentence (*Tel est mon avis*), except in rhetorical style (*Grande fut ma surprise*)

(*g*) Inversion is still found in certain optative expressions (*Vive le roi!*), but was much more common in such constructions as late as the seventeenth century

487 French relies primarily upon intonation as an interrogative device (*Notre ami vient?*), and popular speech generally dispenses with the auxiliary device of inversion The latter developed in O F and was applied uniformly, whether the subject was a substantive or a pronoun Inversion with a

substantive is now possible only if the sentence begins with an interrogative expression *Que dit ton frère?* *D'où vient ce bruit?* *À quelle heure arrive le courrier?* In other cases the substantive is placed first and repeated in the form of a pronoun after the verb *Notre ami vient-il?* This construction is found as early as the twelfth century and becomes usual in Mid F From the sixteenth century onwards *est-ce que* came to be used as an alternative device to inversion (§ 407)

488 The place of the predicate, the direct object, the indirect object, the adverb, was much less fixed in O F than in Mod F The predicate could be placed at the beginning of the sentence or between the subject and the verb The direct object could, as we have seen, precede the verb in O F without a following pronoun, it could also come between the subject and the verb, but this licence disappeared with the loss of case distinctions (but cf *sans coup férir*, *sans mot dire*) With regard to the indirect object and adverbial adjuncts, French preserves only a fraction of its former flexibility (cf XIV, 55, 87) In Mod F they usually follow Normally the direct object precedes the indirect, but considerations of rhythm often induce a deviation from this rule the general practice is to place the shorter object first (*J'ai demandé ce livre à mon ami*, but *J'ai demandé à mon ami la raison de cette démarche*) If the adverb precedes, it no longer brings with it inversion, except in the cases mentioned above (but cf *Ainsi soit-il*) The place of the negative particles (*pas*, *point*) was formerly much less fixed they could precede *ne* and could be more widely separated from *ne* than is now possible (cf the survival in *Pas n'est besoin*, cf also § 456) Similarly, *plus* in a comparative clause could formerly be separated from the adjective (*Plus est grand que vous ne croyez*), or follow (*Grand est plus que vous ne croyez*)

489 In compound tenses the auxiliary could formerly be separated from the participle, not only (as in Mod F) by adverbs which have become weakened in meaning or stress (*Je vous l'avais bien dit*, *Il n'est pas encore venu*), but by the direct object (*Mais ayant de vos fils les grands cœurs découverts*,

Malherbe, Sudre, p 227, cf also XVII, 42) or the subject (now only with pronouns *Qu'a-t-il dit?*) *Messe e matines at li reis escoltét, Rol* 670 The same liberty obtained in the case of modal verb + inf (§§ 249, 300)

For the place of attributive adjectives and of pronoun objects, see §§ 218, 249 Further details will be found in §§ 145–50, 243–4, 257, 275, 372–7, 399, 456, 539

Chapter VI

VOCABULARY

A *GENERAL*

490 A word may be defined as an articulated sound or group of sounds recognized as a unit in virtue of the idea it conveys or the function it fulfils in speech-activity [1] Those words which are used to modify meaning or which serve a functional purpose are dealt with in the chapter on Morphology and Syntax They include all words whose primary function it is to indicate the relation between the members of a phrase or sentence (prepositions and conjunctions), to define the substantive to which they are attached (articles and pronominal adjectives) or to replace it (pronouns), or to serve some other morphological or syntactic purpose (auxiliary verbs, adverbs, numerals) The present chapter is therefore concerned only with substantives, adjectives, verbs, and interjections Such a division of the field, like the customary distinction of 'parts of speech', may be criticized on theoretical grounds[2] and it is undertaken merely for convenience and clearness in exposition

491 Confining our attention for the present to substantives, adjectives, verbs, and interjections, we find that each word is a conventional symbol corresponding to a certain idea or to alternative ideas which the speaker or writer wishes to evoke in the mind of the hearer or reader In the economy of human speech, the latter is guided in the interpretation of the symbol by the context or by auxiliary devices such as intonation The alternative ideas may be closely related or

[1] In connected speech the recognition of a word as a unit may be very hazy or may disappear, and it is far from possessing in all cases the clearly defined individuality conferred upon it by the written or printed symbol

[2] Cf what is said in §§ 541–2 on derivation by change of function

very widely separated (cf § 543 ff) The symbol itself may represent the fusion of two forms which, although originally distinct, have by the process of phonetic evolution become homophonous (*louer* < LAUDARE and *louer* < LOCARE) From the phonetic point of view such a symbol counts as a single word, whether it appears as such in spelling (*louer*) or not (*pain, peins, peint, pin*) We may therefore study the vocabulary of a language from the point of view of the symbols it employs and proceed to consider the meanings it attributes to them, or we may take the ideas as our point of departure and examine how the language renders them The latter procedure has much to commend it, and M Brunot[1] and others have shown how fruitful it can be, but the former line of approach still presents definite practical advantages which cannot be ignored Similar considerations govern the somewhat arbitrary treatment in separate sections of the two aspects form and meaning Such artificial divisions are inevitable if we wish to present in analytical form what is in effect a synthesis of psychological and physical elements, in which cultural, social, and political conditions, and, to a lesser degree, individual caprice or creative activity play a part

492 The changing conditions and varying needs which a language is called upon to meet, and the wear and tear to which as an instrument it is subject, imply a constant change in vocabulary formation or borrowing of new words, discarding or loss of old words, extension, restriction, or shifting of the meanings and functions of existing words But before proceeding to discuss the changes which the vocabulary of the French language has undergone, it is necessary to examine the hereditary stock which French took over from Latin The expression 'took over' implies a break in continuity which did not exist, and while we may from the phonetic point of view consider the French language as dating from the time when the Latin spoken in Northern Gaul began to develop features differentiating it from the types of Latin spoken in the rest of the Empire, we shall for present purposes quite

[1] *La Pensée et la Langue*

arbitrarily define the hereditary stock as consisting of those words (whether of Latin or non-Latin origin) which Vulgar Latin possessed at the time of its introduction into Gaul Having characterized this hereditary stock, we may proceed to consider its evolution, always remembering that in the early stages this evolution is often common to the greater part of the Latin-speaking world

493 A comparison of the vocabulary of Vulgar Latin with that of Classical Latin reveals the same relation as that which subsists between any popular speech and its literary counterpart On the one hand, many words of a literary character remained confined to Classical Latin, and the wealth of synonyms at the disposal of Classical writers was in every-day language reduced to the bare essentials thus AEQUOR, TERGUM, VULNUS do not appear to have been used, while ALTER, FORTIS, GRANDIS survived at the expense of ALIUS, VALIDUS, MAGNUS On the other hand, technical terms connected with various trades and occupations (APIARIUM, BATT(U)ALIA, BIS-ACUTUM, SPATHA), vulgarisms (BASSUS, BATT(U)ERE, BOTELLUS, GABATA, GLUTO, TATA), and picturesque or metaphorical terms (CARRICARE, EXAGIUM, IMPEDICARE, SANGUISUGA, MANDUCARE, TESTA) abounded in Vulgar Latin and only occasionally found their way into literature With the decline in culture the difference was accentuated, and it receives a special significance from the fact that Latin was largely propagated in the various parts of the Empire by the lower classes Throughout the period of romanization of Gaul the vocabulary of Vulgar Latin continued to change Among the factors which contributed to modify it were the spread of Christianity, the direct contact with foreign peoples, and the changed conditions of life in general Thus the primitive stock itself had by the end of the fifth century already undergone many of the changes and adaptations which we find again in the subsequent history of the language, and we may therefore conveniently group them with later changes under their respective headings

B *BORROWED WORDS*

494 The borrowing of words may result from the importation of a new or exotic object, in which case the name it bears in the country of origin or in the country through which it is transmitted is generally adopted But where borrowing is at all extensive, it results from a deficiency in the native vocabulary, coupled with a temporary cultural superiority in one or more fields on the part of the nation from whose language the deficiency is made good The demand is created by changes in political and social conditions, in pursuits, interests and tastes, which require a new terminology Where such changes are due to the example or influence of a foreign nation, it is natural that the supply of new words should be drawn from the same source The result is generally an excess of borrowings, which may lead to the elimination of native words and to a temporary distortion of the vocabulary The language will of its own accord make the necessary adjustment and discard in the long run what is superfluous, except in very favourable circumstances, the patriotic efforts of purists to stem the influx are of little moment [1] The same may be said of borrowings which are dictated by personal caprice or mere affectation We shall leave out of account such temporary or personal borrowings and concentrate upon words which have been retained

LOW LATIN AND CLASSICAL LATIN

495 Vulgar Latin as a purely popular idiom possessed a vocabulary quite inadequate to meet the changed conditions resulting from the introduction of Christianity and, at a later date, from the revival of interest in literature, philosophy, and science It was natural that from the beginning this deficiency should be made good by drawing upon the resources of written Latin (Low Latin), which continued to use a host of Classical

[1] This has been well brought out by B H Wind, *Les mots italiens introduits en français au XVIe siècle*, Deventer, 1928

Latin terms unknown to the vulgar, and had even added to that store, partly by derivation and analogical creation, partly by borrowing from Greek (cf § 502) The clerks, who alone continued to write and to speak Latin, were in a sense bilingual and inevitably transposed words from one medium to the other

496 The earliest borrowings from written Latin are consequent upon the introduction of Christianity Such words as *crestïen, eglise, prestre* (cf § 500), although their form alone would indicate a later borrowing, must have been introduced along with the new religion The use of the vulgar tongue in sermons is responsible for a further influx (*angele, apostele* or *apostolie, virgene*, etc), but extensive borrowing first set in with the use of the vulgar tongue for literary purposes The earliest works in the vernacular were of a religious or edifying character and composed by clerks who drew upon Latin to fill the gaps in the vocabulary of the vernacular A distinction must, however, be drawn between mere Latinizing in spelling or vocabulary and genuine borrowing Thus the sequence of *Eulalia* (*ca* 880) offers a number of Latinisms (*Eulalia, anima, rex, in, Christus, post, clementia*), some of which are popular words clothed in a Latin orthography, but also shows a large number of borrowings (*menestier, domnizelle*(?), *colomb, conselliers, christïen, element, empedementz, figure, virginitét*) Similarly in the *Vie de Saint Alexis* (eleventh century) one finds a relatively high percentage of borrowings The fact that the early literary monuments are generally based upon Latin originals would account in part for such borrowings, but the chief reason is the purely practical one of a deficiency in the popular vocabulary Translations, such as the Oxford Psalter and the Cambridge Psalter, naturally show a much higher percentage Not only in such works of edification, but in lapidaries and other early secular writings, the borrowed element is of ecclesiastical origin or was introduced by clerks, the sole persons possessed of culture and a knowledge of Latin Twelfth-century French already possessed the juridical and political terms *cense, criminel, defense, duc, heriter,*

justice, noble, sceptre, testimonie, terms of animal-lore, astronomy, etc , *scorpion, embolisme, kalendier, moment, zone, ametiste, cristal, topaze*, scholastic terms, *allegorie, ancien, argument*, etc More varied in character are the borrowed words in the 'chansons de geste' According to Berger,[1] who counts only words borrowed after 800, the *Chanson de Roland* contains 112, the *Couronnement Louis* 100, and the *Charroi de Nîmes* 52

497 Borrowings from Low Latin (ecclesiastic, scholastic or legal) continued throughout the thirteenth century Texts of this period first show such words as *accusation, avaricieux, discerner, excessif, praticien, transitoire* But previous borrowings are as nothing compared with the transposition in bulk of Latin words in the fourteenth century, henceforth drawn for the most part from Classical Latin The revival of learned studies and the activity of translators are contributory causes, but the real explanation lies in the fact that French literature undergoes a profound change It is now taken seriously, new genres are developed and great store is set by learning, Classical Latin literature being at the same time the model and the repository It is often the work of men who write and speak Latin and, owing to daily converse with Latin authors, think in Latin while writing French Borrowing from Low Latin continues to some extent, facilitated by the use of both French and Latin in different branches of law and administration Borrowings at this date are of the most varied character, but may be characterized as being of a rather more bookish character than hitherto Consequently, many have never become popular, and others have penetrated very slowly into general literary use and thence into popular speech (*abus, decence, anatomie, atrocité, diversion, perplexe, interminable, defectif, emanciper*) [2]

498 Borrowing from Latin continues unchecked in the fifteenth century, accelerated by the first stirrings of the Renaissance and culminating in the absurd Latinized French

[1] *Op cit* p 21, cf Gaston Paris, *op cit*

[2] These examples are taken from the extensive lists given by Brunot, I, pp 514–25

of the 'escumeurs de Latin' ridiculed by du Bellay The cult of Latinism as a literary ornament reached its climax in the school of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs, but continued to find its adepts throughout the sixteenth century From the point of view of vocabulary this century is important in that the sciences began to develop their own special vocabularies, made up largely of Latin and Greek borrowings and formations, some of which passed into the literary language (*cadavre, ligament, semestre, structure, véhicule, épithète, hypothèse, hiéroglyphe, symptôme, symptomatique*) The seventeenth century frowned upon such neologisms, but they found their champions even in that age (cf Brunot, IV, 1, pp 446–9) With the advance of the various sciences in the eighteenth century and the popularization of certain of them, more and more technical words find their way into literature Since the beginning of the nineteenth century the number of such words has gone on increasing, beginning with the Romantic writers, who championed the 'mot propre', and accelerated by the progress of science and industry, the spread of education, and the activity of the press Compared with such borrowings through the technical vocabularies of the various sciences, the number of words borrowed directly by the literary language is small The eighteenth century with its tendency to abstraction is responsible for a number of accessions (*agglomération, cohésion, cynisme, natation*) The nineteenth century and our own are notable for the extravagant use made, particularly by politicians, journalists, and administrators, of the borrowed words already existing in the language [1]

The treatment of words borrowed from Latin

499 The general rule is that a borrowed word undergoes those phonetic changes which supervened after its introduction into the language and is not affected by changes which had been completed before that date Therefore words bor-

[1] For the extensive use made of Learned suffixes, see § 529

rowed from written Latin during the V L period would not be distinguishable from Popular words, and it would appear a simple matter to arrange later borrowings in chronological order. But a number of factors have intervened to obscure the issue, and it is necessary to study the circumstances in which a particular word was introduced and the manner in which it was propagated

500 The first circumstance to be noted is that the earliest borrowings were oral and not written, and when one bears in mind that the clerks carried into their pronunciation of Latin many of the features of the vulgar tongue, it is clear that a word may be borrowed after the completion of a sound-change and yet appear to have been subjected to it No one will contend, for example, that *charité* (CARITATEM) was borrowed before *c* followed by *a* had become *ch*, and yet Latin *c* is here rendered by *ch* The Carolingian reforms went some way towards restoring Classical pronunciation of written Latin, so that words borrowed after that date are more easily recognized, but even their chronology is difficult to establish Firstly, the reforms did not completely eradicate such popular pronunciations as $c = ts$ before *e*, *i* and $c = t\check{s}$ before *a* Our knowledge of the medieval pronunciation of Latin is very imperfect, and yet it is a factor which has to be reckoned with throughout the history of borrowings from Latin, accounting as it does for such features as the rendering of Latin short *u* by *u* *tube* (TŬBA), *cumuler* (CŬMŬLARE), etc Secondly, post-Carolingian borrowings are no longer made by word of mouth, but direct from written Latin, and they are Learned in a narrower sense of the term They continue, however, to be borrowed from Low Latin down to the end of the thirteenth century, after that date from Classical Latin, and less frequently from Low Latin Thirdly, the existence of the Latin word alongside of the Learned borrowing (often in the linguistic equipment of the same individual) may exercise a retarding influence on the development of the latter, which would not be caught up in the popular stream and would therefore be made to appear a later borrowing than it in

fact is. This is undoubtedly true of such words as *angele*, *esperit*, *virgene*, *crestiien*, *prestre*, *eglise* Fourthly, the same word may be re-borrowed at various dates We get in this way, in addition to etymological doublets consisting of a Popular form and a Learned form (*meuble—mobile*), doublets consisting of an early borrowed word and a late borrowed word (*frêle—fragile*), if the phonetic interval is slight, the former may be eliminated by the latter (*soutil*, *vitaille* give way to *subtil*, *victuaille*, cf § 574) Fifthly, what appear to be Learned words may in certain cases be Popular words re-modelled under the influence of the Latin form Thus, *bisaieul*, *instruire*, *instrument*, *suffire* have replaced *besaieul*, *enstruire*, *estrument*, *soufire* That is to say, it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between mere Learned influence and outright borrowing, just as in early monuments it is difficult to distinguish between Latinisms, Latinized spellings, and Learned borrowings, cf §§ 152–3, 496

501 The form of a word may therefore lead to a wrong conclusion or may even fail to reveal the fact that the word is borrowed (*montrer*, *évêque*) Hence the dating of pre-literary borrowings is a delicate operation and must be undertaken with due regard to the meaning of the word and the circumstances which account for the borrowing They can, as a rule, be distinguished from later borrowings by the fact that they follow Popular words in maintaining the accent on the same syllable as in Latin, though not sharing all their phonetic changes (*âme*, *ange*, *apôtre*, *chanoine*, *prêtre*, *moine*) [1] Later borrowings either keep the Latin form (*cirrus*, *nimbus*, *pensum* (= pēsǫm), *rictus*, *examen*) or are adapted, generally by giving them a French termination (*correctif*, *différent*, *habitude*, *légume*, *juriste*) For the dating of such Learned forms the first occurrence in a text furnishes a provisional *terminus ante quem*, but leaves open the question of its currency at the time

[1] An exception must be made in favour of Latin formulae adopted at various periods without change, except for a shifting of accent or such alterations as had taken place in Low Latin (*ave*, *cancan*, *déficit*, *ergo*, *item*, *rogaton*)

and the possibility of its being found ultimately in a still earlier text

GREEK

502 The Greek element in the vocabulary of Modern French is only to a slight extent the result of direct borrowing, the bulk of it having come to French through Latin. The majority of the Greek words used by Classical writers were of a learned and literary character and never found currency in Vulgar Latin Some of them passed into Low Latin and thence into French, others directly from Classical Latin to French at a later date A considerable number of ecclesiastical terms *église* < ECCLESIA (*ἐκκλησία*), *évêque* < EPISCOPUM (*ἐπίσκοπος*), *ange* < *ángele* < ANGELUM (*ἄγγελος*), and a few miscellaneous terms such as *coup* < COLAPHUM (*κόλαφος*), *corde* < CHORDA (*χορδή*), were adopted by Low Latin in the V L period and passed thence into the vulgar tongue Direct borrowing, by word of mouth, was rare in this period The Crusades resulted in a number of borrowings, some of which appear to have been made directly (*boutique, chaland, dromond*), others through Low Latin (*besant, endive*) or through Italian (*fanal, golfe, page, riz*) The revival of Hellenistic studies in the sixteenth century resulted in the transposition of numerous Greek words by such enthusiasts as Rabelais, but very few of their borrowings were adopted (*anagramme, athée, enthousiasme*) The bulk of the Greek element that makes its appearance at this time and later is either adopted from Latin (*stratagème, épithète, sympathie*) or filters into the literary language through the technical vocabularies of the sciences (*symptôme, hygiène, rhomboïde*) Since the sixteenth century Greek has furnished the sciences (particularly medicine and chemistry), and to some extent industry, with the greater part of their technical vocabulary, not so much in the form of ready-made words as of elements which are freely utilized for new creations (*chronomètre, laryngoscope, photographe, télégramme, téléphone*) These are not always made with a sure

linguistic perception and result in such Graeco-Latin and Gracco-French hybrids as *centimètre*, *bureaucratie*, *cartographie*

What has been said in §§ 499–501 applies to Greek words that have passed through Latin, the earliest borrowings developing like Popular, the later like Learned words The rendering of Greek words in Latin varies according to (*a*) the date of their introduction (*κάμηλος*—V L KAMÉLU > O F *chemeil* is early, while *ταπήτιον*—V L TAPPÍTJU > *tapis* is in accordance with the late Greek pronunciation of *η* as *ι*), (*b*) the manner of their transmission, literary or oral *φ*, *θ*, *χ* appear as PH, TH, CH respectively in C L but, with loss of the aspirate quality, as P, T, K in V L (and in archaic Latin) CÓLAPHUS (*κόλαφος*)—V L KOLPU > *coup*, CATHÉDRA (*καθέδρα*) —V L KÁTEDRA > *chaiere* > *chaire*, BRACCHIUM (*βραχίων*)— V L BRAKJU > *braz* > *bras*, but later borrowings show *f* for *φ* in accordance with the change in Greek pronunciation ORPHANUS (*ὀρφᾰνός*)—V L ORFANU + -INU > *orfenin*, *orfelin*, *ζ* appears in the earliest borrowings as *s* MASSA (*μάζα*) > *masse*, later as *dj* ZELUS (*ζῆλος*) + -ŌSUS—V L DJELOSU > *jaloux*, and still later as *z* *zèle*, *υ* appears as Y in C L (V L as *o*) CRYPTA (*κρυπτή*)—V L KROPTA > O F *croute*, since replaced by *grotte* (It grotta), but later borrowings show V L *ι* and *ę* CYMA (*κῦμα*)—V L KIMA > *cime*, PRESBYTERUM (*πρεσβύτερος*) —V L PRESBETERU > O F *prouvoire* Greek accentuation is maintained in popular borrowings BÚTYRUM (*βούτυρον*) > *beurre* Learned borrowings are normally accented according to Latin rules (*κάμηλος*—CAMÉLUS), but Learned imitation of Greek is responsible for a number of exceptions (*μοναρχία*—MONARCHIA—*monarchie*)

CELTIC

503 French vocabulary contains a fair number of words of Celtic origin, the majority dating from the V L period [1] Some were borrowed early and are common to the Romance languages (except Roumanian) ALAUDA > *alou(ette)*, BECCUM

[1] They are for the most part known to us only in a Latinized form

> *bec*, BRACA > *braie*, CABALLUM > *cheval*, CAMBIARE > *changer*, CARRUM > *char*, *CLETA > *claie*, *CUMBA > *combe*, *LANDA > *lande* Others either remained confined to the Latin of Gaul or were introduced into it at a later date *AREPENDE(M) (for AREPENNEM) > *arpent*, BODINA > *borne* (O F *bodne*, *bonne*, *bosne*), CARRUCA > *charrue*, LEUCA > *lieue*, *SOCCUM > *soc*, TUNNA > *tonne* It should, however, be noted that of this category a certain number later passed from French to other Romance languages, e g VASSALLUM > *vassal*, whence It vassallo, Sp vasallo It is possible that a certain number of words have come down from pre-Celtic languages (Ligurian, etc) through the intermediary of Celtic or directly, e g *peautre* (< *PELTRUM Ligurian?) Such words would naturally survive more frequently on the fringes of Gaul, where they were not submerged by the Celtic and Romance strata, notably in the Alpine region (*avalanche*, *chalet*, *luge*)

504 Borrowings from the Celtic idiom of the Gauls were completely naturalized in the V L period (cf § 4), and therefore develop in exactly the same way as the original Latin elements They are to be carefully distinguished from later Celtic borrowings from Breton These are transposed with little change, the terminations being generally assimilated to the native terminations *baragouin* < bara 'bread' + gwin 'wine', *bijou* < bizou, *bouette* 'bait for cod-fishing' < boed Others, mostly nautical and archaeological terms, retain their original form and have a limited currency (*bernicle*, *cromlech*, *dolmen*, *goéland*, *menhir*)

GERMANIC

505 Even before the occupation of the various portions of the Empire by Germanic tribes, contact with the latter had resulted in the introduction of certain words into Latin GANTA (> O F *jante*) and SAPO (> *savon*) are found in Pliny, BRUTA in inscriptions of the third century But with few such exceptions Germanic loan-words remained confined to the spoken language during the V L period J Bruch (*op*

cit) has estimated the total number of Germanic words borrowed before A D 400 at roughly 100 The intermediaries were on the one hand the Roman soldiers, officials, and traders, who for longer or shorter periods remained in contact with Germanic tribes, and on the other hand Germanic mercenaries and slaves, who were drafted into the Empire in large numbers Consequently, many of these early borrowings concern military operations and equipment, the habits and conditions of life of the soldiery bind-a (binde) > *bande*, bras-a (Scand brase) > *braise*, būkōn (bauchen) > *buer*, frummjan (frommen) > *fournir*, hardjan (harten) > *hardir*, whence *hardi*, hari-berg- (heer + bergen) > Prov *auberc*, *auberga*, whence *auberge*, harp-a (harfe) > *harpe*, helm- (helm) > *heaume*, hraustjan (rosten) > *rôtir*, kausjan (kiesen) > *choisir*, krattōn (kratzen) > *gratter*, likkōn (lecken) > *lécher*, mark-a (mark) > *marche*, skal-ja (schale) > *écaille*, sparanjan (sparen) > *épargner*, spor-on (sporn) > *éperon*, supp-a (suppe) > *soupe*, trapp-a (treppe) > *trappe*, warjan (wehren) > *guérir*, warnōn (warnen) and warnjan > *garnir*, commerce and trades alisn-a (ahle, North Engl elsen) > *alêne*, ball-a (ballen) > *balle*, *ballon*, brakk-on (bracke) > *braque*, *brachet*, *braconnier*, marþr- (marter) > *martre*, skūm- (schaum) > *écume*, domestic architecture, husbandry, etc balk- (balken) > *bauc* (*balcon* through Italian), bank- (bank) > *banc*, bastjan > *bâtir*, brekan (brechen) > *broyer*, fanj- (dial fenn, Engl fen) > *fange*, first (first) > *faîte*, garb-a (garbe) > *gerbe*, older *jarbe*, adjectives of colour (perhaps originally applied only to horses) blank- (blank) > *blanc*, brūn- (braun) > *brun*, falw- (falb) > *fauve*, grīs- (greis) > *gris*, miscellaneous brūþ- (braut) > *bru* (O F *bruz—brut*), hank-a (L G hancke) > *hanche*, sinn- (sinn) > *sen* 'direction' preserved in *assener*, *forcené*, urgōl- (O E orgol) > *orgueil*, wīs-a (weise) > *guise* The words listed above were taken up into Vulgar Latin before the various Romance languages became differentiated, and many of them have been preserved in several of these languages, but French possesses a larger

number than any other, owing to the closer contact with the Germanic tribes The Germanic roots are here given in their West Germanic (hypothetical) form, followed by their phonetic descendants or nearest cognate forms in Modern German, or alternatively in other Germanic idioms The French equivalents are not in every case the direct descendants of the Germanic forms, but may have been remodelled later under the influence of Franconian

506 The occupation of Northern Gaul by the Salian Franks and the rapid romanization of the latter resulted in much more extensive and varied borrowing Whereas the Vulgar Latin borrowings had been of general West Germanic provenance, this second series (*ca* 400–800) is almost entirely Franconian The Germanic roots are given in their Old Franconian (hypothetical) form, but it is to be noted that in many cases the form attested in later Franconian is identical with that here given alin-a (elle) > *aune*, al-ōd (Old Saxon ōd 'landed property', cf Mod G kleinod) > *alleu*, bakk-on (backe) > *bacon*, bann- (bann) > *ban*, bannjan > *bannir*, ber-a (bahre) > *bière* 'bier', bidil (buttel) > *bedeau*, bis-a (biese) > *bise*, blāw- (blau) > *bleu*, blettjan > *blesser* (O F *blecier*), bord (bord) > *bord*, bottan (Engl to butt) > *bouter* and *bouton*, dansōn (O H G dansōn) > *danser*, fehu- (vieh) > *fief* (O F *fieus—fieu*), flad-on (fladen) > *flan* (O F *flaon*), gund- 'battle' + fan-on (fahne) > *gonfanon*, whence by dissimilation *gonfalon*, haist- (Gothic haifsts 'strife', O H G heist 'violent') > *hâte* 'haste', harst- (O H G hersten, M L G harsten 'to roast') > *hâte* 'spit', haigir-on (O H G heigir) > *héron*, hag-a (hag) > *haie*, hall-a (halle) > *halle*, happ-ja (cf O H G happa) > *hache*, hatjan (hassen) > *hair*, haunip-a > *honte*, heriberg-a > *heberge* (O F *herberge*), hestr- (M L G hester) > *hêtre*, hring- (ring) > *rang* (O F. *renc*), huls- (Germ dial hulst) > *houx*, kott-a (O H G chozza) > *cotte*, kripp-ja (krippe) > *crèche*, krūk-a (krug) > *cruche*, krupp-a (kropf) > *croupe*, laid- (leid) > *laid*, laub-ja (cf laube) > *loge*, maising-a (meise) > *mésange*, raub-a (rauben) > *robe*,

rīk- (reich) > *riche*, sin-i 'old' (cf Gothic sinista 'elder') + skalk- > *sénéchal*, skankj-on (schenk) > *échanson*, skerp-a > *écharpe*, skīn-a (schien-bein) > *échine*, sparwār-i (sperber) > *épervier*, spehōn (spahen) > *épier* (through Prov *espiar*[2]), speut- (spiess) > *épieu* (O F *espiet* later *espiel*, *espieu* ≠ *pieu*), treuw-a (treue) > *trêve*, waddj- (wette) > *gage*, waht-a (wacht) > *guaite*, whence *guaitier* > *guetter* whence *guet*, want- (L G wanten) > *gant*, werpan (werfen) > (*dé*)*guerpir*

507 During the O F period borrowings from Germanic are comparatively rare The Frankish element of the population has been completely absorbed, and new borrowings filter in through Picardy from the Low German peoples of the Netherlands, through Normandy from the Norse invaders and from Anglo-Saxon Borrowings from High German are few (bercvrit > *berfroi*, *beffroi*, riben > *riber*, whence *ribaud*), owing to the severing of contact with those parts of Germania where West Germanic had developed High German peculiarities (the High German sound-shift was completed by the end of the eighth century) Borrowings from Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon (ninth to tenth century) are almost confined to nautical terms, and it is a striking fact that French took from Anglo-Saxon the terms to denote the points of the compass Old Norse húnn > *hune*, kriki (Engl creek) > *crique*, sigla > *cingler* (O F *sigler*), skipa > *équiper*, þilja > *tillac*, vinda > *guinder*, vind-ás > *guindas*, vág-r > *vague* 'wave' Anglo-Saxon bát > *bat-eau*, bowline > *boutine*, éast > *est*, flóta > *flotte*, norþ > *nord*, rád > *rade*, stæg > *étai*, súþ > *sud*, west > *ouest*, wræc > *varech*, and perhaps wimpel > *guimple* > *guimpe* Low German furnishes a number of nautical words and terms denoting commodities aanmaren > *amarrer*, bak > *bac*, dune > *dune*, havene > O F *havene* > *hâvre*, micke > *miche*, ralijk > *ralingue*, schelling > *escalin*, stapel > *étaple* and *étape*, vrecht > *fret*, wach-arme[1] > *vacarme*

508 In the Middle French period close commercial relations with the Low Countries are reflected in continued

borrowings from Dutch or Flemish broſekin > *broussequin* later *brodequin* (15th c), under the influence of *broder*, buiten > *butiner*, whence *butin*, droge > *drogue*, kerkmisse > *kermesse*, kiel > *quille* 'keel', stockvisch > *stockfisch*, wimpelkin > *wimbelkin* later *vilebrequin*, are attested from the fourteenth century, bolwerc > *boulever* later *boulevard*, dik > *digue*, lamper-kin > *lambrequin*, mandc-kin > *mandequin* later *mannequin* 'little basket', mannekin > *mannequin*, plak > *plaque*, from the fifteenth century, bakboord > *bâbord*, boecskin > *bouquin*, stierboord > *estribord* > *tribord*, verlaten > *frelater*, wase > *vase*, from the sixteenth century

509 German mercenaries are mainly responsible for the introduction of the following High German words burgmeister > *bourguemaistre* later *bourgmestre*, halber-ent > *halbran*, from the fourteenth century, bettelaerc > *belleudre* later *bélître*, elen > *hellent* later *élan* (*du cerf*), halskragen > *hallecrète* later *halecret*, landsknecht > *lansquenet*, ros > *rosse*, from the fifteenth century, bier > *bière* 'beer', Eulenspiegel > *espiègle* (abbreviation of *Ulespiègle*, which suggests the Dutch form *Uilenspiegel* as the intermediary), garaus > *carous* later *carrousse* (17th c), Eidgenosse > *huguenot*, halt > *halte*, hase > *hase*, hutte > *hutte*, pfife > *fifre*, reiter > *reître*, trinken > *trinquer*, from the sixteenth century

510 Apart from an increasing number of words adopted by Anglo-Norman writers and passed on by them (*gotelef*, *wibet*, *welke* in Marie de France, *lovendrincs* in Beroul, *welcomer*, *outlaghe* and its derivatives), which had a limited circulation, borrowings from English are rare *Estellin* (or *esterlin*) is attested in the twelfth century but is perhaps not derived directly from English sterling The Hundred Years' War resulted in but few importations, dating mostly from the fifteenth century, when the common soldiery of English speech took a more prominent part by God > *bigot*, fellow > *falot* (cf Rabelais, *il est goud fallot*), God dam > *goddam*, *godon*, whence *godenot* (17th c) From the same period date dog > *dogue*, hobby > *hobin* (15th c) later *aubin* (17th c), milord > *milord*, *millour* In the sixteenth century English furnishes but little

511 From the seventeenth century onwards borrowings from English show a rapid increase, while those from Dutch and German show a corresponding decline Dutch afhalen > *affaler*, bylander > *bélandre*, dok > *dogue* > *dock* under the influence of English dock (17th c), brandewin > *brandevin*, kombuis > *cambuse* (18th c) German. biwache > *bivouac*, blenden > *blinder*, haubitze > *obus*, habersack > *havresac*, sabel > *sabre*, rheingraf > *rhingrave* 'breeches' (XVII, 39), schibe > *cible*, nudeln > *nouille*, *zigzag*, *zinc* (17th c), blagen > *blague* 'tobacco-pouch', *blende*, *cobalt*, *feldspath*, kirschwasser > *kirsch-wasser* later (*eau de*) *kirsch*, was ist das? > *vasistas*, *vampire*, *vermout* (18th c), *bock*, *dolman*, *képi*, *landau*, fruhstuck > *frichti*, sūrkrūt (dial) > *choucroute*, walzer > *valse* (19th c)

512 Seventeenth-century borrowings from English begin to reflect the growing interest in English affairs Beside nautical and commercial terms (*ballast*, *brig* or *brick*, *drague*, *flanelle*, *guinée*, *paquebot*, *rhum*), such words as *boulingrin* (bowling-green), *contredanse* (country-dance), *comité*, *pamphlet*, *piquenique* appear in the course of the seventeenth century The admiration which English letters and institutions engendered in the eighteenth century, and the 'anglomanie' which for a time prevailed, led to the adoption of such varied words as *club*, *importation*, *jockey*, *partenaire*, *redingote* (riding-coat), *sentimental*, *spleen* Such borrowings continue in the nineteenth century (*bifteck*, *châle*, *dandy*, *festival*, *keepsake*, *rail*, *rosbif*, *sinécure*, *tramway*, *wagon*), but they are outnumbered by the countless terms taken from the technical language of trade, industry, and above all of sport *actuaire*, *chèque*, *stock*, *celluloid*, *gutta-percha*, *ticket*, *bicycle*, *cricket*, *dead-heat*, *football*, *hockey*, *sport*, *sportsman*, etc, etc

513 The result of this wholesale borrowing has often been that words originally taken over by English from French have been borrowed back Sometimes the original French word has in the meantime disappeared, or become archaic (*budget*, *square*, *mess*, *verdict*), but frequently the result is an etymological doublet *cabane*—*cabine*, *connétable*—*constable*,

entrevue—interview, étiquette—ticket, étoffe—stuff, exprès—express, façon—fashion, gentilhomme—gentleman, rapporteur—reporter, reille —rail, compote—compost, humeur—humour

ARABIC

514 The Arab invasions and the occupation of Spain, the superior culture of the Arabs, the translation of many of their scientific works into Latin, and finally the Crusades, resulted in the introduction of many Arabic words into the vocabulary of the Western nations French received the bulk of this vocabulary at second hand, through Low Latin (13th c *alchimie, barbacane, nuque*; 14th c *zénith*, 15th c *amalgame*, 16th c *alcool*), Spanish (12th c *algalife, papegai*, 16th c *abricot, pateque* later *pastèque*, 17th c *lilac—lilas*), Portuguese (14th c *épinard*), Italian (13th c *arsenal, chiffre, girafe*, 14th c *cramoisi, magasin, tare*, 17th c *carafe, mesquin, tarif*) Some words passed through several languages before reaching French Particularly interesting are the peregrinations of *albatros, divan—douane, mohair—moire* Arabic alqadūs 'bucket' was the name applied to the pelican from its supposed water-carrying habit, adopted by Spanish and Portuguese (alcatraz 'pelican'), it passed thence into English in the form algatross (17th c), albatross (18th c), the latter being borrowed by French in the eighteenth century Arabic diwān 'custom-house' was apparently borrowed directly into French in the form *douwaine* (15th c), which gave way in the sixteenth century to *dogane, douane* (< Italian do(g)ana <diwān), the same word having passed through Persian and Turkish was re-borrowed in the sixteenth century in the form *divan* Arabic mukhayyar 'choice, select' gave English mohair, whence French *mouaire, moire* (17th c), *mohair* was re-borrowed with a slightly changed meaning in the nineteenth century, English returning the compliment by borrowing *moire* Direct borrowings from Arabic include 12th c *azur, coton, jupe*, 13th c *alambic, ambre, élixir, gazelle*, 14th c *nadir*, 17th c *harem*, and in more recent times, thanks

to the occupation of Algeria, 19th c *burnous*, *cheik*, *zouave*, and many more of limited currency

ITALIAN

515 Apart from Italianisms to be found in the works of Italians writing French (Brunetto Latini, Rusticiano of Pisa), borrowings from Italian were few in the O F period They consist for the most part of words which Italian passed on from other languages (*arsenal*, *chiffre*, *girafe*); *catacombe*, *citrouille*, *francolin*, *porcelaine* date from the end of the thirteenth century In the fourteenth century, intercourse with Italy becomes more and more frequent and borrowings increase (*alarme*, *brigade*, *brigand*, *brigue*, *calibre*, *canon*, *cassette*, *citadin*, *ducat*, *falot*, *florin*, *voguer*) The cultural superiority of the Italians does not assert itself until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when military expeditions, commercial relations, literary influences, and ultimately dynastic alliances, result in a wholesale introduction of Italian words The extent of Italian influence is due not merely to cultural superiority but to the fact that Italy anticipated in such striking fashion the general movement of ideas at this time In a word, the French language, suddenly called upon to meet all the needs created by the Renaissance, had recourse to the language which provided ready-made the bulk of the vocabulary required If for a time Italianisms tended to swamp the language and to reduce it in the hands of certain writers to an Italianized jargon, it is undeniable that Italian contributed in a very large measure to the creation of the refined medium for the classical literature of the seventeenth century Leaving out of account borrowings which have not survived, we find that the fifteenth century already presents a most varied list *arborer*, *banquet*, *bastion*, *calmer*, *câpre*, *cavalcade*, *citadelle*, *dôme*, *émeri*, *escadre*, *escadron*, *esplanade*, *fracas*, *golfe*, *médaille*, *moustache*, *pilote*, *révolter*, *tribune* The Italian monopoly of the banking system is reflected in the large number of banking terms adopted (*banque*, *banqueroute*, *bilan*,

crédit, escompte, faillite, risque, trafic) These were current in the fifteenth century, but did not pass into the literary language until the following century Sixteenth-century borrowings have been carefully listed, examined, and classified by B H Wind The divers categories, arts and sciences (*arcade, architrave, balcon, corniche, façade, grotesque, pilastre, volute*), literature (*cantilène, madrigal, sonnet*), music (*ballet, fougue, sourdine, trombone, violon*), war (*bataillon, camp, caporal, soldat, vedette*, and with meaning later generalized *alerte, contraste, corridor, escapade, escorte, solde*), marine (*accoster, boussole, escale, frégate, gondole, remorquer*), industry (*artisan, brocard, carton, damasquin, faience, majolique*), public and private life (*antichambre, appartement, bosquet, bulletin, cabinet, cadre, camisole, campagne, capuchon, capucin, carrosse, charlatan, contrebande, courrier, courtisan, escroc, festin, gazette, majordome, mascarade, masque, nonce, pantalon, plage, populace, postillon, raquette, récolte, renégat, saltimbanque, soutane, travestir*), show how deep and lasting was the influence of Italy in this age It was inevitable that the Italian word should often find itself in competition with a native term The latter was sometimes kept with a restricted meaning or utilized to distinguish shades of meaning (*camp—champ, cargue—charge, escapade—échappée, escale—échelle, récolte—cueillette*), sometimes eliminated as being old-fashioned or crude (*espie, soudart* give way to *espion, soldat*) In many cases the native word was re-modelled under the influence of the Italian cognate word (*embuschier* + imboscare > *embusquer*), or its meaning was affected without change of form (§§ 576, 582) Sometimes the Italian word had itself been borrowed from Old French (O F *baucenc*—It balzano —*balzan*) Borrowings decline in the seventeenth century but are still varied (*bagne, bandit, céleri, costume, esquisse, filigrane, gigantesque, gradin, imbroglio, lésine, manège, opéra, polichinelle, salon, svelte*), later importations are generally of a technical character, musical terms being particularly numerous (18th c *aquarelle, camée, dilettante, pittoresque, vilégiature, adagio, arpège, crescendo, solfège, sonate, ténor*, 19th c *fantoche, brio, fioriture, trémolo*)

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE

516 The earliest borrowings from Spanish date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries They are generally words which Spanish had itself borrowed from Arabic (*auqueton*, later *hoqueton*), and many have not outlived the O F period (*algalife*, *almaçor*, *amirafle*) Of the 1100 Spanish words listed by Ruppert, less than one hundred date from the Middle Ages (*tournesol*, *genet* are attested from the fourteenth century, *laquais*, *infant* from the fifteenth century) Much more extensive borrowing results from the closer contact between the two nations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries In the sixteenth century Spain's military and naval ascendancy and the wars with France led to the adoption of *alezan*, *casque*, *escouade*, *parade*, *camper*, *camarade*, *caparaçon*, *caracole*, *morion*, *caboteur*, *cabotier*, *cabotière*, *canoe* (f) later *canot* Her far-flung colonial possessions made her the intermediary for many new commodities together with their names *patate*, *mélasse*, *mermelade*, *mais*, *abricot*, also *cannibale*, *nègre*, *savane* Her influence in political and social matters is reflected in such borrowings as *alguazil*, *matassin* In the following century the borrowing of military and nautical terms is rare, but words denoting colonial products and exotic terms are represented by *vanille*, *marmelade*, *alpaca*, *cacao*, *chocolat*, *mulâtre*, *moustique*, *lilac* Literary influences, which are marked towards the middle of the sixteenth and again about the middle of the seventeenth century, are responsible for the introduction of many terms such as *parangon*, *guitare*, *cédille* (16th c) and *sarabande*, *romance*, *quadrille* (17th c) Spanish influence declines in the eighteenth century, characteristic borrowings are *adjudant*, *cigare*, *embarcadère*, *embarcation*, *flottille*, *mérinos*, *récif*, *sieste*, *tomate* After 1800 borrowings are comparatively few (*saynète*), some two-score in all Many of the words listed above and others have come through Spanish from other languages Arabic (*alcôve*, *matassin*, *abricot*, *alguazil*, *récif*, etc), American native idioms (*ananas*, *cacao*, *chocolat*, *mais*, from Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Haiti respectively)

Here, as in the case of Italian, the borrowing often results in the creation of an etymological doublet *adjudant—aidant*, *duègne—dame*, *hombre—homme*, *infant—enfant*, *menin—mignon*, *nègre—noir* The common development of pejorative meaning in borrowed words is illustrated by *duègne*, *hâbler*

Very few native Portuguese words have been borrowed *pintade* (17th c), *autodafé* (18th c), *caste* (18th c) Portugal shares with Spain the rôle of intermediary for many terms denoting colonial products and institutions (*acajou* from Brazil), particularly from Africa and the Far East *bambou*, *banane*, *marabout*, *mandarin*, *palanquin* from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, *fétiche* from the eighteenth century

OTHER ROMANCE IDIOMS

517 Borrowings from the Romance idioms and dialects descended from the common Gallo-Roman stock are often difficult to localize owing to the wide distribution of certain phonetic developments (e g hard *c* before *a*, common to Norman, Picard, and Provençal) Further, among the many words introduced from Provençal, it is not always easy to segregate those which Provençal has merely transmitted from Italian (*salade*) or from Spanish (*bourrique*) Unmistakably Provençal are the earliest borrowings resulting from the influence of the Troubadour poetry and the refined culture it represents (12th c and 13th c *amour*, *aubade*, *ballade*, *donzelle*), or the superiority of Southern craftsmen in certain trades (*elme*, *osberc*, *velours*) Later borrowings are of the most varied kind, many denoting products of the Midi. 14th c. *abeille*, *bastide*, *bastille*, *cabrer*, *cap*, *emparer*, *escargole* later *escargot*, *gabelle*, *soubresaut*, 15th c *banquette*, *câble*, *cadeau*, *cape* 'sail', *cigale*, 16th c *accolade*, *badaud*, *badin*, *barrique*, *cadastre*, *cadenas*, *carnassier*, *caserne*, *escalier*, *fadaise*, *fat*, *gavotte*, *milan*, *mistral*, *troubadour*, *yeuse*, 17th c *soubrette*, 18th c *amadou*, *farandole*, *nougat*, 19th c *béret*, *bouillabaisse* Franco-Provençal and Swiss dialects have furnished *avalanche*, *chalet*, *crétin*, *glacier*, *luge*, *mélèze*, *moraine*

Borrowings from Northern dialects are comparatively rare, from Norman or Picard *achopper*, *barbouquet*, *bercail*, *bocage*, *cabaret*, *caboche*, *caillou*, *étiquette*, *étriquer*, *gavion*, *grincheux*, *quai*, *stopper* 'to repair', from West or South-West dialects *arguayer*, *caniche*, *varaigne* Many so-called borrowings are more correctly described as dialectal pronunciations which have prevailed over Central French It sometimes happens that a word which has disappeared from the standard language is re-introduced from a dialect Picard *fabliau* (16th c) for O F *fablel*, Picard *affiquet* for O F *affichet*, Norman *benêt* for O F *ben(e)oit* (cf § 369) Genuine borrowings take place when new needs arise which the dialects are in a position to meet and satisfy Thus the dialects on the Northern and Western sea-board provide many nautical and fishing terms (*aplet*, *crevette*, *esturgeon*, *requin*, *salicoque*, *vergue*) Local industries, when they become of national importance, bring with them a new vocabulary (from the North-East come *escarbille*, *houille*, *tôle*, *torque*)

Borrowing from the technical vocabularies of trades and professions goes on constantly Here special mention may be made of borrowings from thieves' slang 15th c *dupe*, *fourbe*, *gueux*, 16th c *matois*, *matou*, *narquois*, 17th c *argot*, *polisson*, *trucher*, 19th c *cambrioleur*, *flouer*, *larbin*, *mioche*, *roublard*, *voyou*

Phonetic treatment and assimilation of borrowed words (other than Latin and Greek)

518 The treatment of borrowed words often throws an interesting light on the phonetic constitution of a language at the time of the borrowing, but generally upon that of the creditor rather than the debtor language The subject is one of peculiar difficulty, for one must take into account the pronunciation of both languages (and their dialects) at the time of the borrowing, the manner of transmission (oral or literary), and the peregrinations of the word (through dialects, special languages, etc) A broad distinction may be drawn between oral and written borrowings The former take place

mostly when there is prolonged contact between two races and to some extent interpenetration (e g the Frankish conquest) Early Germanic borrowings (before 800) are oral The same may be said of borrowings from Low Latin in the earliest period of the language, to a lesser degree of Italian borrowings of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but, in general, borrowings since the Middle Ages have taken place through the written language Yet the distinction is often difficult to maintain Normally the borrowed word, if it is naturalized and no longer felt to be foreign, will share phonetic developments that supervene after its introduction We have seen how the evolution of a word borrowed from Latin may be retarded by the continued existence of the Latin word by the side of it The same applies to words borrowed orally from foreign languages, if they are still felt to be foreign words they keep close to the original form and are held in check by it The influence of spelling is here particularly potent (*club*, borrowed from English in the eighteenth century and pronounced *klǫb* or *klob*, has in the nineteenth century come to be pronounced *klub* under the influence of the spelling)

Broadly speaking, words borrowed orally are transposed as accurately as possible sounds which are foreign to French are rendered by their nearest equivalent Only once in the history of the French language have foreign sounds been introduced, viz as a result of the Frankish conquest and the fusion of the Frankish invaders with the native population *'h*, which has since become mute (haunjan > *'honnir* > *(h)onnir*, cf § 115), and *w* (> *gu* > *g* wardōn > *guarder* > *garder*, cf § 103)

The treatment of Latin and Greek borrowings is discussed in §§ 499–502 Celtic (Gaulish) borrowings are known to us only in their Latinized forms, which develop regularly In the case of the earlier borrowings from Germanic, those sounds which existed in Vulgar Latin or Gallo-Roman persist, the remainder are rendered by their nearest equivalents Thus *u* appears as *o* (furbjan—V L FORBIRE > *fourbir*),

eu appears as *ę-o* (streup—V L ESTRĘOPU > O F. *estrieu*, cf § 44 *a*), *ai* appears as *a* (waidanjan—V L GUADANJARE > *gaaignier* > *gagner*), for details see Schwan-Behrens, § 30 In later borrowings from German, *h* continues to be rendered by *'h* (*halbran*), *ie* (= i) is rendered by *je* (*bière*), *oe* (= o) by *oe* in written borrowings (*Goethe*, now pronounced *got*, formerly rimed with *poète*) Borrowings from English are rendered variously according to the method of transmission and the influence of the written word *u* is rendered by *o* or *o* in earlier (oral) borrowings (*club*, see above), but by *u* in later (written) borrowings (*jury*), *'-er* appears as *-re* in early *cotre* (cutter), as *-ęr* in late *ulster*, *ow* appears as *ou* (= u) in both early and late borrowings (*boulıne*, *boulingrin*, *out!* at lawn-tennis) Italian *c* (= tš) appears as *s*, suggesting Piedmontese provenance, in *célerı*, *fantassin*, but as *š* in *chiffre*, *chiourme*, *polichinelle*, *š* for Italian *ch* (= k) in *niche* (nicchia) indicates a literary borrowing, the *k* of *Michel Ange* is due to Learned influence, *u* appears as *ou* (= u) in *bravoure*, *coupole*, but as *u* in *buste*, *costume* Spanish *ch* (= tš) appears as *š* (*chocolat*) *j* (= χ) is variously rendered, partly in accord with the evolution of this consonant in Spanish, partly under the influence of spelling by *ž* or *š* in 16th–17th c *jonquille*, *Quichotte*, by *k* in 18th c *kérès* (Jerez), sometimes by uvular R in later borrowings, *Rota* (Jota) (according to Dauzat, p 183), *z* (= t)—*s* (cigarro—*cigare*), *b* (=b)—*b* (zarabanda—*sarabande*), *d* (= d)—*d* (parada—*parade*), *an*—*ā* (romance—*romance*), final *a*—*ə* (patata—*patate*)

Combinations of sounds which are foreign to French are generally simplified (*bifteck*, *rosbif*, *paquebot* for packet-boat, *fifre* for Germ pfife), or a difficult group is broken up by the intercalation of a glide-vowel Anglo-Saxon wræc > *varech*, Franconian hnapp > *hanap*, Germ halskragen > *hallecrète*, landsknecht > *lansquenet* The accentuation of literary borrowings is generally modified in accordance with French linguistic habits *revolver*, *ulster*, *pamphlet*, *adagio*, *macaroni*, *incognito*, *opéra*, *alpaca*, *blocus* (blochuus) But this applies also to many oral borrowings, even very early borrowings

they are given a French intonation The following show the normal treatment of oral borrowings *cotre* (cutter), *page* (paggio), *parapet* (parapetto), *frichti* (fruhstuck), *reître* (reiter), *obus* (haubitze) Sometimes the written form later reacts on the spoken *quacre* (quaker) replaced by *quaker*, 14th c *gondre* (góndola) replaced by 16th c *gondole*

519 Among the disturbing factors which produce hesitation, and sometimes a new pronunciation, the chief is the knowledge of the foreign tongue (not always perfect) possessed by a section of the population This more cultured section will often endeavour to keep as near as possible to the foreign pronunciation The rest of the population, familiar only with the word as a written word, will pronounce more or less *à la française* This applies particularly to modern borrowings from English *meeting* first pronounced *metēg*, but in an attempt to reproduce the English pronunciation, *mitīg* or *mitin*, *square* pronounced *skwa r* and *skwę r*, *Shakespeare* pronounced *-e-ar* in the eighteenth century, *-i r* in the nineteenth century Further examples of hesitation are furnished by *club*, *humour*, *rail* (*raj* or *rę̄l*), *wagon*, *ulster*, *jury*, *high-life* (commonly pronounced *iglif*), *dead-heat* (which we have heard pronounced *deadę̄at*) The adoption of large numbers of English words, fully adopted but keeping the English spelling, has led to the suggestion (made by Remy de Gourmont) to spell in French fashion *boucmacaire*, *speche*, *fivocloque*, but this suggestion is hardly to be taken literally (cf however *rosbif*, *bifteck*, and the like)

520 The adaptation of borrowed words to native habits of speech takes the form, not only of rendering foreign sounds by the nearest equivalents, but of various kinds of assimilation The commonest is the assimilation of the ending *redingote* (riding-coat), *boulevard* (bolwerc), *macaron* (macchерone), *huguenots* (Eidgenossen), *blocus* (blochuus), *tarentelle* (tarantella), this is sometimes merely orthographic *dogue* (dog), *flanelle* (flannel)

Often the form of the word is modified owing to association with a native word of similar form or meaning (*a*) Substitu-

tion of one element blackball + *boule* > *blackbouler*, pulitezza + *poli* > *politesse*, terzetto + *tiers* > *tiercet*, burgmeister + *maistre* > *bourguemaistre* later *bourgmestre* (*b*) Crossing of a foreign word with a native (cf § 19) Germ hōh + ALTUM > V L HALTU > *haut*, wesp-a + VESPA > V L GUESPA > *guêpe*, wad- + VADUM > V L GUADU > *gué*, wōst- + VASTARE > V.L GUASTARE > *guaster* > *gâter*, wulf + *VULPĪCULUM > *goupil*, widarlōn + DONUM > *guerredon*, wiper-a + VIPERA > *guivre*, Gr -Lat *CATA-UNUM + QUISQUE UNUM > V.L CASCUNU > *chascun*, Celtic *crit- + TREMERE > *criembre*, *craindre*, ordiga + ARTICULUM > *orteil*, marchese + O F *marchis* > *marquis* (cf § 515) (*c*) Folk-etymology, the association in the popular mind of a little-known word (usually foreign) with a better-known word, with which it is fancied to have some etymological connection *beaucuit* (buckwheat), *contredanse* (country-dance), *choucroute* (sūrkrūt), *hallecrète* (halskragen), *jeu de l'âne salé* (game of Aunt Sally), cf Nyrop, I, §§ 528–30

C *WORD-FORMATION*[1]

DERIVATION BY SUFFIX

521 Derivation by the addition of suffixes has always been the chief source of new words Suffixes may be defined as particles which have lost what independent existence they had, but can be detached from words in which they occur and joined to other words or stems of words So long as suffixes are capable of being thus extended by analogy they are said to be productive In the course of time a suffix may cease to be productive either because it ceases to be recognized as a suffix, e g -ŭLUM (CINGULA > *sangle*) which continued to form new derivatives only in Italy, or because other forms of derivation are preferred Suffixes are added to substantives, adjectives or verbs in order to modify their meaning by adding a new (secondary) meaning The latter

[1] Cf Nyrop, III, and Darmesteter, *Cours*, III Most of the examples in the following pages are taken from these two works

does not always remain constant A suffix which has become unproductive may also cease to convey any such secondary meaning, particularly if the simple word has dropped out of use, e g. *-as* in *frimas* (< Germ *hrīm- + -ACEUM), or in *plâtras* beside *plâtre*

522 Most of the suffixes employed in French have been inherited (Popular) or borrowed (Learned) from Latin A few have been borrowed from other languages A further series of suffixes has been developed in French by a modification in the form of inherited or borrowed suffixes Such secondary formations often result from a wrong analysis, the final consonant or vowel or syllable of the stem being interpreted as part of the suffix, e g on the basis of *chevalerie*, etc , interpreted as *cheval-erie*, *-erie* has been added to other words (*diablerie*) A secondary suffix may result from the combination of two primary suffixes *-onner*, *-iller*, *-icisme*, *-erot*

523 Contamination and substitution of one suffix for another are extremely common *-ation* for *-aison*, *-ier* for *-er*, *-ade* for *-ée*, *-ail* for *-al* (see below) Phonetic change has often caused two or more suffixes to fall together, in which case purely orthographic change is common *cadenas* for *cadenat*, *hautain* for *hautin*, *brelan* for *brelanc*, *filet* for *filé* The final syllable of a word may be wrongly interpreted as a suffix and its form modified accordingly *allemand*, O F *alemant* for older *aleman* The final syllable of borrowed words is particularly subject to this form of assimilation *abricot* (Sp albaricoque), *falot* (It falò) 'lantern', cf § 520

524 Suffixes may be classified under the headings Verbal and Nominal, according as they serve to form verbs or nouns (substantives and adjectives) Of the Nominal suffixes some are both substantival and adjectival, others have in the course of time changed from substantival to adjectival or vice versa

Verbal suffixes

New verbs are formed in French by the addition of the verbal suffixes *-er* and *-ir* The former, which continues to be productive, often appears in enlarged forms presenting either

(*a*) the addition of a consonant (*-der, -ter bazarder, numéroter*), or (*b*) that of a nominal suffix (*-asser, -eter, -onner, -oter écrivasser, marqueter, mâchonner, tapoter*), or (*c*) the continuation of a Latin enlarged form *-ailler* (< -ACŬLARE) *tirailler*, *-oyer, -ayer, -eyer* (< Gr -Lat -IZARE, also < -ECARE, -EGARE, -ĬCARE, -ĬGARE) *guerroyer, plaidoyer, nettoyer, charroyer, bégayer, grasseyer, -eler* (< -ĬLLARE) *denteler*, *-iller* (< -ICŬLARE) *sautiller*, *-iner* (< -INARE) *trottiner*, *-ouiller* (< -UCŬLARE) : *bredouiller*, Learned *-(i)fier* (-(I)FICARE) *personnifier*, Learned *-iser* (Gr -Lat -IZARE) *américaniser*

The suffix *-ir* was fairly productive in the medieval period and gradually displaced *-er* for the formation of verbs from adjectives (cf § 290), but it is now practically unproductive

NOMINAL SUFFIXES

525 The following list comprises suffixes which have remained productive throughout For convenience the secondary suffixes of French formation are added, without any attempt at fixing the date of their appearance

-able (< -ABILEM, itself an enlarged form of -BILEM and generalized at the expense of -IBILEM in the pre-literary period *croyable*, O F *creable* for CREDIBILEM) is one of the most productive suffixes in French In the modern period it can have only a passive meaning (*supportable*), but a number of older formations with active meaning have survived (*redevable*)

-age (< -ATICUM), extremely productive in the earlier periods (*sauvage, voyage*), is now less productive and added only to verbal stems (*blanchissage, chauffage*) to denote the action or the result Secondary *-tage* (*agiotage*)

-aille (< -ALIA n pl of -ALIS), generally collective (*broussaille, épousailles*), but readily assumes pejorative meaning, which predominates in modern formations (*ferraille*), but cf *trouvaille*

-ais (< -ENSEM), used to form adjectives from place-names (*bordelais, irlandais*) A collateral form is *-ois* (cf §§ 72–3)

-asse (< -ACEA), formerly *-ace*, originally augmentative (*milliasse*), but now generally pejorative (*paperasse*)

-e (<-A), frequently added to proper names to indicate objects connected with a place or person (*berline, guillotine, mansarde*)

-é (<-ATUM) was used as a substantival suffix to denote a dignity or office (*duché, archevêché*), but is much more productive as an adjectival suffix (*cuivré*)

-ée (<-ATA) has been used to form a wide range of derivatives, generally collective and used to denote quantity, duration and the like (*bouchée, année, journée*)

-eau (O F *-el*), *-elle* (<-ELLUM, -ELLA, extended in V L at the expense of -ULUM, -ILLUM, etc) It has as a rule lost its original diminutive meaning (*chevreau*) and is not recognized as a suffix in many words (*taureau, prunelle*) Secondary *-ereau* (*hobereau* from *hobe* 'hobby-hawk', *sauterelle*)

-el (<-ALEM), formerly much used, but has gradually given ground before its Learned doublet *-al*, with which it formerly alternated in many words (*temporel, -al*, etc), whence, with differentiation of meaning, *journel—journal, originel—original, partiel—partial* Secondary *-iel* (*torrentiel*)

-ement (<-AMENTUM, an enlarged form, with A from -ARE stems, which was extended in pre-literary times at the expense of -IMENTUM), extremely productive in Mod F of substantives indicating the action or the object of the action denoted by the verb from which they are derived (*avènement, battement*) Many older forms have fallen into disuse (*accordement, naissement*)

-et, -ette (<-ĬTTUM, -ĬTTA) has become the most favoured diminutive suffix, although in some derivatives the diminutive force has in time been effaced (*feuillet, mulet, alouette, serviette*) Secondary *-elet* (*gantelet*), *-iquet* (*tourniquet*), also *-eton, -etel, -eteau*

-(e)eur (<-(AT)OREM) has remained very productive of substantives denoting the agent of the action (*vainqueur*) and is in Mod F also added to nouns (*chroniqueur*) Secondary *-teur* (*agioteur*)

-eux, -euse (<-OSUM, -OSA), particularly productive in the sixteenth century (*estoilleux, perleux*, etc) and continues to

form adjectives denoting quality and abundance (*courageux*, *boueux*) The feminine form is common in Mod F names of machines (*moissonneuse*) Secondary *-teux* (*caillouteux*), *-ueux* (*majestueux*)

526 *-ien* (< -ANUM preceded by a palatal PAGANUM > *paiien* > *paien*) is productive of many new forms (*parisien*, *parisien*)

-ier, *-ière* (< -ARIUM, -ARIA), one of the most productive suffixes Substantives in *-ier* denote the person connected in some way (maker, seller, etc) with the object denoted by the root-word (*bijoutier*, *fermier*, *gantier*, *hôtelier*, *rentier*) and the tree producing the fruit or flower denoted by the root-word (*pommier*, *rosier*) Another meaning, which also dates from Latin, is that of a receptacle and the like (*grenier*, *théière*, *pépinière*) Adjectives in *-ier* denote the quality associated with or denoted by the root-word (*coutumier*, *dépensier*, *princier*) In many words *-ier* has been substituted for earlier *-er* (*bachelier*, *sanglier*, *soulier*), but has itself been reduced to *-er* after *ǰ*, *č*, *l'*, *n'* (*porcher*, *étranger*) Secondary *-dier* (*boyaudier*), *-tier* (*bijoutier*), *-yer* is an alternative spelling employed after vowels (*écuyer* < SCUTARIUM), §§ 75, 319

-ille (< -ĪCULA) The original diminutive force has often been obliterated *cheville* (< CLAVICULA), *charmille*, *béquille*

-in (< -ĪNUM), originally diminutive and sparingly used, but has come to be used extensively and with a variety of meanings (adjectives denoting origin, matter, substantives denoting persons and objects) *limousin*, *argentin*, *galopin*, *moulin* *-ine* serves as the feminine of *-in* (*limousine*) and as an independent suffix (*routine*) Secondary *-tin* (*tableautin*), *-elin* (*gosselin*)

-oir, *-oire* (< -ORIUM, -ORIA) denotes receptacle, place, instrument (*tiroir*, *trottoir*, *assommoir*, *balançoire*)

-ois (< -ENSEM), used to form adjectives of nationality and the like, these may of course be used substantivally (*suédois*, *villageois*, *courtois*, *bourgeois*), cf *-ais*

-u (< -ŪTUM), commonly used to form adjectives of the type *pointu*

-(e)ure (< -(AT)URA), used to form collective and abstract substantives (*chevelure*, *droiture*), and often denotes the result of the action (*blessure*)

527 The following nominal suffixes have in Mod F. come to be used sparingly or not at all In some cases the secondary form has continued to be productive at the expense of the primary

-aie (< -ĒTA) forms substantives denoting plantations (*chênaie*) Secondary *-eraie* (*pineraie*) Cf §§ 72–3

-ail (< -ACULUM or -ALIUM) *attirail*, *soupirail*

-ain, *-aine* (< -ANUM, -ANA), formerly very productive (*vilain*, *lointain*, *châtelain*) and used to form collective numerals (*huitain*, *douzaine*, *centaine*) Cf § 222

-aison (< -ATIONEM), gradually crowded out by its Learned doublet *-ation* (*comparaison*, *liaison*, but *dérivation* for older *derivaison*)

-ance (< -ANTIA), generalized in the pre-literary period at the expense of -ENTIA, formerly very productive (*naissance*), but now practically evicted by the Learned *-ence*

-er (< -AREM) has been replaced by *-ier* (O F *bacheler*, *sangler*, *souler*)

-esse (< L L -ISSA < Gr *-ισσα*) *abbesse*, or (< -ĪTIA) *finesse*

-ie (< L L -ĺA for '-IA under the influence of Gr *-ία*), formerly very productive (*jalousie*, *compagnie*, *Normandie*), but now displaced by the secondary forms *-erie* (*diablerie*, *orfèvrerie*) or *-terie* (*bijouterie*)

-is, O F *iz* (< -ĪCIUM) *châssis*

-ise (< -ĪTIA?) *fainéantise*

-ison (< -ĪTIONEM) *garnison*

-oison (< -OTIONEM) *pâmoison*

-on (< -ONEM) has produced many substantives and adjectives, often with a diminutive meaning (*dindon*, *vallon*) Secondary *-eron* (*bûcheron*), *-ichon* (*cornichon*), *-illon* (*cotillon*)

-ot (< -OTTUM), still productive but much less so than formerly (*cachot*, *manchot*) The original diminutive meaning has sometimes given place to a depreciatory meaning (*vieillot*) or has been effaced (*fagot*) As a suffix of endear-

ment it has often been added to proper names (*Pierrot*, *Margot*) *-otte* serves as the feminine of *-ot* and also as an independent suffix (*calotte*) Secondary *-elot* (*angelot*), *-illot* (*maigrillot*)

-té (< -ITATEM) *bonté*, *fierté*, generally replaced by *-ete* (*fermeté* for O F *ferté*, *sûreté*) or the Learned *-ité* (*vérité* for O F *verté*) Secondary *-auté* (*privauté*)

528 Other less productive suffixes are *-agne* (< -ANEA n pl of -ANEUS) *champagne*, *-ange* for older *-enge* (< -EMIA) *vendange*, *louange*, *vidange*, *-as*, O F *-az* (< -ACEUM) *frimas*, *plâtras*, *-âtre* (< -ASTRUM), used to form adjectives of the type *grisâtre* and substantives with a pejorative meaning (*marâtre*), *-euil* (< -OCULUM or -OLIUM) *bouvreuil*, *-eul* (< -IOLUM) *filleul*, *-if* (< -IVUM) *sportif*, *-il* (< -ILE) *fournil* or (< -ICULUM) *grésil* With the exception of *-âtre*, *-if*, *-il*, this group of suffixes are now unproductive

529 The most commonly used Learned suffixes are *-ique* (Gr -Lat -ICUM) *vocalique*, *-isme* (Gr -Lat -ISMUM) *romantisme*, *bolchévisme*, *-iste* (Gr -Lat -ISTA) *humaniste*, *bolchéviste*, *-ité* (-ITATEM) *banalité* The following are less prolific *-aire* (-ARIUM) *annuaire*, *humanitaire*, *-al* (-ALEM) *banal*, *gouvernemental*, *-at* (-ATUM) *électorat*, *externat*, *assassinat*, *-ateur* (-ATOREM) *accélérateur*, *-ation* (-ATIONEM) *centralisation*, *-ite* (*-ῖτις*) *bronchite*, *méningite*, *-ose* (*-ωσις*) *gastrose*, *névrose*, the two last-mentioned being extensively used for the creation of technical terms

Foreign suffixes

530 *-ade* is found in many words borrowed from Provençal, Italian, and Spanish (§§ 515–18) From the sixteenth century onwards it has become productive of a large number of substantives (*fusillade*), sometimes with a pejorative meaning (*gasconnade*)

-ais (*-ois*) (< Germ -isk + Gr -Lat -ISCUM) frankisk + FRANCISCUM > *francois* > *François* and *français*, FRANCISCA > O F *francesche*, early supplanted by the analogical fem *françeise* > *Françoise* and *française* Cf §§ 72–3

-art (< Germ -hart), fem *-arde*, whence by analogy the spelling *-ard* for *-art* (*Renart, campagnard, canard*), has gradually developed a pejorative meaning (*richard*)

-aut, O F *-alt* (< Germ -halt), fem *aude*, O F *-alde*, whence the spelling *-aud* (*Arnaud, Michaut, héraut, crapaud*), is generally pejorative (*ribaud, nigaud*)

-enc (-ing) found in Germanic loan-words (*chambrelenc, Flamenc, Loherenc*) and used to form a few O F words (*gardenc* 'guardian'), but early confused with the more common *-an(t), -ain, -ien* (*chambellan, flamand, lorrain, gardien*)

531 The addition of a suffix generally leaves the form of the stem unaffected (*fruit—fruitier*), but, once constituted, the derivative may evolve in such a way as to bring about a deviation from the simple word (*lièvre—levrette, oisif—oisiveté, frein—effréné*) Analogical influences are here particularly potent, and the regular phonetic evolution of the derivative may be retarded or checked under the influence of the simple word (*chevalier* < CABALLARIUM has been influenced by *cheval*) or it may be re-modelled (*fierté* for O F *ferte* ≠*fier*) On the other hand, apophony regularly subsisting between such forms as *lièvre—levrette, arc—arceau* may be introduced into new derivatives (*levraud, jonc—joncer*) formed after the sound-law which produced the apophony has ceased to operate It is therefore very hazardous to attempt the dating of derivatives on purely phonetic grounds

Other adaptations consist in the elimination of the final consonant (*faubourg—faubourien*), vowel (*Canada—canadien*) or syllable (*Thomas—thomiste, violet—violâtre*), in the intercalation or substitution of a consonant (*rein—éreinter, tabac—tabatière*); cf also the adaptation in such words as *inamovibilité* from *inamovible* Sometimes the change is purely graphic (*république—républicain, long—longueur*) Forms derived from verbs are based on the stem of the present (*blanchir—blanchissage, recevoir—receveur*)

FORMATION BY PREFIX

532 Prefixes are employed indifferently for the formation of verbs and nouns, with the exception of a few (*avant-, plus-, sans-, vi-*) which are used only for nouns The formation of new verbs by the addition of a prefix was already extremely common in Latin[1] and has continued The creation of new nouns was accelerated by the breakdown of the flexional system All prefixes were originally adverbs or prepositions Many, such as RE-, had ceased to be used as independent particles in Latin, others have since ceased to function as such (BIS, EX, PRAE, etc), while a certain number still fulfil both functions (*avant, plus, sans,* etc) It is consequently difficult to maintain a rigid distinction between derivation by prefix and composition The same prefix may be used syntactically with prepositional force (*contre-sens*, i e against common sense) or merely juxtaposed with adverbial force (*contre-coup*, i e a blow against)

533 The prefixes employed by French are nearly all of Latin origin Many of the C L prefixes fell into disuse, and, as the need for new prefixes arose, adverbs and prepositions were pressed into service *avant* (*avant-coureur, avant-dernier*), *mé(s)* < MINUS (*mésaventure, méconnaître*), *non* (*non-sens, nonchalant*), *for(s)* < FORIS (*forclore, formariage*),[2] *en* (< INDE) was very extensively used in O F with verbs of movement to indicate the point of departure, but this notion is in many cases practically obliterated, and *en* tends to become a mere particle *s'enfuir, s'ensuivre* (used only in the 3rd pers), *s'envoler* show complete fusion in Mod F , orthography and grammar maintain *s'en aller* (*Il s'en est allé*), but in popular speech the tendency is to treat *en aller* as a single word (*Il s'est en allé*), cf *Quand s'est-il en allé?* (Musset) and other

[1] Cf §§ 22 (*d*), 285

[2] *for(s)* has absorbed the German prefix fur- (Mod Germ ver-), which may be postulated for such forms as *forfaire* (*forfait, forfaiture*), *forboire* (*forbu, fourbu*), *forvêtu*, cf Germ vertun, vertrinken, verkleidet On the other hand, *for* = Germ vor in O F *forborc*, later *forsbourg* and by popular etymology *fau(x)bourg* For *més-*, cf Bloch, *Dict*

examples cited by Nyrop, III, 474 Alternatively, Learned prefixes were borrowed (§ 536)

534 Learned reaction and the influence of Learned words has frequently resulted in the re-modelling of Popular prefixes or their replacement by the collateral Learned form (see below) In some cases the re-modelling affected in the first place spelling and was subsequently carried into pronunciation (*adjuger* for O F *ajugier*, *absoudre* for O F *asoudre*) Other substitutions are less common than in the case of suffixes *accorder* (CONCORDARE), *allumer* (ILLUMINARE), *arracher* for O F *esrachier* The prefix is sometimes added to a form which is already compound *accueillir* (AD + COLLIGERE), *rasseoir*, *parachever*.

POPULAR PREFIXES

535 *a-* (< AD-) Under Learned influence *d* has often been restored or the following consonant doubled (*acompte*, but *adjuger*, *apporter*)

bé(s)- (< BIS-) has not remained productive and has been replaced by Learned *bis-* in *bisaieul*, *biscuit* (cf *becuis*, XI, 36), found in *bévue*

dé- (*dés-* before vowel) (< DIS-) *détourner*, *désordre*, sometimes replaced in Mod F by Learned *dis-* (*discordance*)

é-, O F *es-* (< EX-) *echanger*, sometimes replaced by Learned *ex-* *exploiter* (for O F *esploitier*), *extraire* (for O F *estraire*), which gives many modern formations, as in English (*ex-roi*)

en- (*em-* before labial) (< IN-, IM-) *entrain*, *embattre* For *en-* (< INDE), see above

entre- (< INTER-) with a variety of meanings *s'entr'aider*, *entrelacer*, *entrevoir*, often replaced by Learned *inter-* (*intervenir*)

mal-, *mau-* (< MALE-) *malaise*, *l* has generally been restored before consonants *maltraiter*, *maldisant*, but cf *maudire*

outre- (< ULTRA-), rarely used (*outrecuidant*, *outremer*), whereas the Learned *ultra-* has of late become excessively common (*ultra-royaliste*, *ultra-violet*).

par- (< PER-) *parfaire, pardessus*, as an intensive particle it was separable in O F (*Moult par est fols*)

pour- (< PRO-) *pourparler, poursuivre* Learned reaction produced hesitation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries between *pour-* and the Learned *pro-* (or *prou-*) *prouvoir*, etc , the latter has triumphed in *promener, profil, profit* (cf XII, 14)

re- (< RE-) In O F *re-* was still separable and was often prefixed to the auxiliary verb in compound tenses or to modal verbs *nem revueil encombrer* (Alexis, 188), *Et les dames se resont mises* (G de Dole, 287), *Or vous reveut paier* (Rutebeuf, *Théophile*, 315) Before a vowel *re-* is regularly elided (*rappeler, rhabiller, rouvrir*), but in new formations the Learned form *ré-* is often employed (*réagir, réélire, réactif*) and has sometimes displaced older *r* (*réarmer* for O F *rarmer*) If the root-word begins with *s*, the unvoiced sound is preserved and denoted in spelling by *ss* (*ressentir, ressembler*) *re-* conveys a variety of meanings, such as repetition (*redire*), whence the idea of thoroughness, completeness (*rechercher, ressentir*), return or restoration (*revenir, retourner, regagner, rétablir*). In O F. it often serves to stress the contrast or comparison of two persons performing the same action or different actions *Or me conseilliez dou mien* 'now do you in your turn counsel me [as I have counselled you]', cf VI, 7

sans- (< SINE) *sans-gêne*

sou(s)- (< SUBTUS) *soulever, sous-officier* The Learned prefix *sub-* has replaced *sous-* in *subdiviser*

sur- (< SUPER-) *surcharger, surabondant* The Learned form of this prefix is common in commercial jargon (*super-fin*)

tre(s)- (< TRANS-) *trépasser, tressaillir* Learned form *trans- transatlantique*

vi-, O F *vis-* (< VICE-) *vicomte, vidame* Learned form *vice- vice-président*

Learned prefixes

536 In addition to those already mentioned, the following Learned prefixes have been the most productive of new formations (quite apart from their prevalence in borrowed words)

anté- (*anténuptial, antéchambre* replaced by *antichambre*), *anti-* (*anti-républicain*), *archi-*, much favoured in familiar language (*archi-bon*), *com-, con-, co-* (*complaire, convenir, coreligionnaire*), *extra-* (*extra-légal*), common in commercial language (*extra-fin*), *in-* with assimilation before consonant (*inautorisé, illisible, imperméable, irréprochable, infiltrer, incruster*), *post-* (*postdater*), *pré-* (*prédisposer*), *quasi-* (*quasi-mort*)

PARASYNTHETIC FORMATIONS

537 Many new formations, called parasynthetic, result from the addition of a prefix and at the same time of a suffix They are for the most part verbs *a-bord-er, contre-rôle-er* > *contrôler* (formerly *contrerôler*), *for-sen*(Germ sinn)-*er*, O F *forsener* whence *forcené, détacher, enivrer, encolure, souterrain*

BACK-FORMATIONS

538 Back-formations consist in the elimination of a prefix or suffix, or of a syllable which is regarded as such (*diplomate* from *diplomatie* and *diplomatique*) The commonest type is that which consists in the dropping of the verbal ending (post-verbal formation) Such verbal substantives usually denote the action (*combat*) or its result (*pli, amas*), less frequently the agent (*garde*) or the instrument (*presse*)

The older formations are as a rule masculine and show the accented form of the stem (*appui, maintien, relief, espoir, pleur*) Modern formations are nearly always derived from *-er* verbs, end in *-e*, and are feminine (*recherche, demande*) Many verbal substantives have gone out of use, being replaced by other derivatives *consulte* by *consultation, proteste* by *protestation, trompe* by *tromperie*

COMPOSITION

The formation of a new word by the linking of two full words (not merely stems) was rare in Latin but was freely developed in the Romance languages Except in the earliest

formations, the component words remain phonetically intact, only the meaning and accentuation indicating that they are compounds

539 The two elements may be co-ordinate and are found in the following combinations

Subst + subst, one (usually the second) qualifying the other, rare in Latin (ARCU BALLISTA > *arbalète*), more common in French (*commis-voyageur, chou-fleur, maître-autel, chef-lieu*)

Subst + adj The place of the adjective varies and sometimes reflects changing usage; not very common in Latin (RESPUBLICA), but developed in Romance (*DIA DOMINICA > *dimanche*, ALBA SPINA > *aubépine*, PRIMA VERA > O F *primevoire*, AVIS TARDA > *outarde*) and relatively common in French (*basse-cour, gentilhomme, malaise, printemps, bonjour, moyen âge, amour-propre, vinaigre, fait divers*)

Poss pron + subst *monsieur, messire, monseigneur, madame, mademoiselle, Notre-Dame*

Adj + adj *clair-obscur, gris-pommelé, ivre-mort*

540 One element may be subordinate to the other in the following combinations

Subst + subst In Latin the qualifying substantive stood in the genitive (AURI FABER > *orfèvre*, LUNAE DIEM > *lundi*, etc, cf § 173) With the reduction of the cases to two, the rôle of the genitive was taken over by the oblique case, whence such O F formations as *chiendent, hôtel-Dieu* After the breakdown of the two-case system such compounds become rare, and they are to be considered as imitations (*timbre-poste*, cf § 209)

Subst + prep + subst or inf This type is extremely common in French (*gendarme, chef-d'œuvre, boîte aux lettres, char-à-bancs, salle à manger, arc-en-ciel, bachelier ès lettres, tabac à priser*)

Verb + subst Compounds of the type AGRICOLA, in which the stem of the substantive and the stem of the verb are juxtaposed, became rare in later Latin and gave place to formations consisting of the imperative of the verb + subst (or infinitive used substantivally) *cache-nez, garde-manger* Such compounds were much favoured by sixteenth-century writers,

but the majority of their creations have perished (*casse-loix*, *dompte-ennui*, *porte-laine*) Other parts of the verb are rarely used (*lieutenant*)

Other compounds consist of phrases, such as (*un homme*) *comme il faut*, (*des*) *on dit*, (*le*) *qu'en dira-t-on*, (*un*) *sauve qui peut*, (*un*) *je ne sais quoi*

DERIVATION BY CHANGE OF FUNCTION

One may distinguish two types

541 (*a*) The change of function results from ellipsis This is generally the case when adjectives come to be used as substantives FONTANA (AQUA) > *fontaine*, HIBERNUM (TEMPUS) > *hiver*, SINGULARIS (PORCUS) > *sanglier*, FICATUM (JECUR) 'liver of a goose fattened with figs' > *foie*, ALBA (VESTIS) > *aube* 'alb', ALBA (DIES) > *aube* 'dawn', none of which survive as adjectives in French Similarly (*ville*) *capitale*, (*vêtement*) *complet*, *première* (*représentation*), (*train*) *rapide*, *un* (*homme*) *pauvre*, *riche*, *saint*, *malade*, etc

542 (*b*) One part of speech used for another This is extremely common, and we have already observed the readiness with which the particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) pass from one category to another The substantival use of the various parts of speech, to which the article is simply prefixed, presents many varieties Leaving aside the purely occasional changes of function (*le moi*, *le pourquoi*), the following chief types may be distinguished

Subst used as adj (*une robe marron*, *un homme colère*), rarely as pron (*on* < HOMO), as adv (*se lever matin*), as interj (*peste!*) Note also the use of proper names as common nouns *dinde* < (*coq*) *d'Inde*, O F *ladre* < *Lazarus*

Adj used as subst (*le droit*), as adv (*sentir bon*, cf § 212)

Adv as adj (*prêt* < PRAESTO, *un homme debout*), as subst (*le bien*, *les biens*, *le mal*, *les maux*)

For change of function between particles, see §§ 442–82

Verb For the substantival use of the infinitive, see § 295. All participles can be used as adjectives (§§ 305, 372) and,

like ordinary adjectives, are often used substantivally (*un fiancé—une fiancée, un écrit, une saillie, un amant—une amante, le croissant, la variante*, cf also *savant* beside *sachant, puissant* beside *pouvant*, §§ 302–3) The imperative is often used as an interjection (*voici, voilà, tiens*) Other parts of the verb are rarely used with change of function *soit* as an interjection or conjunction, *le doit* 'debit' (cf also the Learned forms *débit, crédit, déficit*), O F *espoir* (1st sing. pres ind of *esperer*) was used as an adverb with the meaning 'perhaps'

D *CHANGE OF MEANING*[1]

543 We have defined a word as a sound or group of sounds recognized as a unit in virtue of the meaning it conveys A word does not describe an object or an idea It is a symbol which evokes the notion of the object or idea, and it is generally charged with the function of evoking a series of notions The hearer is guided in the interpretation of the symbol by the context and by various auxiliary devices In speech-activity the point of departure is the notion To render the notion of a new object or a new idea, or new varieties or aspects of them, a language has recourse to two devices (*a*) it may create or borrow a new word (§§ 494–542), or (*b*) it may charge an existing word with the function of conveying the new meaning. In the same way a language may abandon the traditional symbol of an object or idea in favour of another which is felt to be more expressive, more precise, more fashionable, more acceptable for a variety of reasons (considerations of taste, feeling, etc)

544 Considering the question from the formal point of view of the symbol (word) employed, we therefore find that the number of notions the word conveys may be increased (extension of meaning) or decreased (restriction of meaning), or increased in one direction and decreased in another (shifting of meaning) The number of notions it conveys may

[1] In addition to the works mentioned in the Bibliography, cf Nyrop, IV, and Dauzat, *Histoire*, pp 244–77

vary, not only in time, but as between different sections of the community (specialization of meaning) The extension of meaning may be carried to such a point that the word is overburdened, and it becomes necessary to transfer some of its meanings, otherwise, being overworked, it dies The restriction of meaning may reduce it to the rôle of a mere particle or it may be lost entirely The specialization as between different classes of the community may remain constant, or there may be in special languages (technical and regional) survival of words or meanings which have been abandoned by the standard language, or again, the specialized meaning may find its way into standard usage

545 Changes in meaning may result from changes in the object itself, in the mental and moral attitude of those who speak the language (the setting up of finer distinctions, etc) and the conditions in which they live (political and social factors), or from various associative influences (influence of form on meaning, etc) We must distinguish between such factors, which make a change of meaning desirable or necessary, and the logical processes involved in the attribution of a new meaning to a word or the elimination of an old one The latter represent a modification in the normal connection between the notion (the thing denoted) and the symbol (word), e g a word may be utilized to evoke, not merely the primary or traditional notion, but other notions which stand in some sort of logical connection or present some analogy with the primary notion Thus the notion of a concrete object is associated with the notion of the abstract idea, and the word denoting the latter may be used to denote the former (*potence*, cf § 549) The word may continue to evoke the primary notion as well as the secondary, or it may cease to evoke the primary, e g *chef* (CAPUT) no longer evokes the primary notion 'head' These processes have been classified by grammarians under the following headings Synecdoche, extension or restriction of acceptation whereby the name of the part stands for the whole, or that of the whole for the part, Metonymy, change of acceptation whereby a

notion is denoted by a word which normally denotes another notion, the two standing in some constant relation with each other (cause and effect, etc), Metaphor, change of acceptation whereby a notion is denoted by a word which normally denotes another notion, the two having some trait in common which allows of their being associated or compared

SYNECDOCHE AND METONYMY

546 Genus for species *bâtiment*, in the sense of 'ship', *jument* (originally a beast of burden), in the sense of 'mare', *viande* (< VIVENDA), originally and still in the seventeenth century denoted 'food in general', *flotte* down to the sixteenth century denoted 'an assemblage of persons or objects', whence 'army', 'armament', cf § 576, *mousse*, borrowed in the fifteenth century from Sp mozo or It mozzo, but early restricted to 'cabin-boy', *courage* (< *COR-ATICUM) continued to be used as late as the seventeenth century in the original sense of 'mood', 'disposition'; *ouvrer* (< OPERARE), now restricted to the meaning 'to fashion', 'to make up' (*ouvrer du bois, du linge*), *traire* and *labourer*, used throughout the Middle Ages in the general sense 'to draw', 'to work' respectively; *converser*, still commonly used in the eighteenth century in the medieval sense of 'to sojourn', 'to associate with'

Species for genus *homme* for 'Man', *chrétien* for 'man', *gagner*, O F *gaaignier* (Germ waidanjan), originally 'to go hunting', 'to go in search of sustenance', shows at the same time metonymy of cause and effect

Proper name for common noun *un tartufe, un suisse, un bohémien, un assassin* (originally the name of the followers of the Old Man of the Mountain, famous in medieval lore), *renard* (Germ Reginhart), as the proper name of the fox in the famous *Roman de Renart*, came to replace the common noun *goupil* (cf § 520)

Common noun becomes proper name *Champagne* (= *campagne*), *La Ferté* (O F *ferté* 'stronghold'), *Lefèvre* or *Le Fèvre* (< FABER), *Molière, Racine, Corneille, La Fontaine*, etc

547. Whole for the part. *tableau* for the painting on it, *hermine* for the fur of that animal.

Part for the whole *une mauvaise langue*, *un rouge-gorge*, *drapeau* (dim of *drap*) for the whole standard

Container for contents *boire un verre*, *la ville se souleva*, *la Chambre a été élue*, *la cour* (< COHORTEM), originally 'enclosed space', whence 'rural property', then 'royal domain', 'residence', 'court', and by extension, 'the persons composing the court'

Contents for container. *collège* (COLLEGIUM), extended to denote the building which houses it, *depôt* (< DEPOSITUM) 'the thing deposited', extended to 'the place where it is deposited'

Material for the manufactured article *verre*, extended to mean 'drinking-glass', 'watch-crystal', 'lens', etc , *bonnet* originally denoted a kind of material, but as early as the thirteenth century it seems to have been used to denote the article

Place of origin or producer for the product *du bordeaux*, *du camembert*, *un terre-neuve*

548. Cause or agent for effect or result *timbre* (TYMPANUM) 'bell', whence 'sound produced by bell', *secourir* (SUCCURRERE) 'to run towards', then 'to hasten to one's aid', finally 'to aid' The reverse is less common *parfum*, extended to denote the preparation, *araignée* originally denoted the web of the spider (O F. *araigne*), but began to denote the spider as early as the fifteenth century, the meaning 'web' is still found in La Fontaine, *les pâles maladies* 'illnesses causing paleness', *goddam* (or *goddem*, *godon*), name applied to the English soldiery at the time of the Hundred Years' War after their favourite oath

The action for (*a*) the person performing it or the object to which it is attributed *garde*, *manœuvre*, *entourage*, *suite*, *témoin* (< TESTIMONIUM), of which the original meaning 'testimony' survives in *en témoin de quoi*, (*b*) the object or result of the action *amas*, *bâtiment* 'building', *connaissance*, *mélange*, *peinture*, *recueil*, (*c*) the place or circumstances of the action *demeure*, *entrée*, *étude*, *marché*, *passage*, *sortie*, (*d*) a variety of

notions *batterie* has come to denote both the subject 'battery of artillery' and the object 'kitchen utensils of beaten metal', 'wall of a tennis-court', 'percussion instruments of an orchestra', *chasse* has come to denote, on the one hand, the agent 'huntsmen' and the object which chases or urges something forward, 'powder', 'charge' and the like, and, on the other, 'game', 'preserve', *gouvernement* 'the governing body', 'government house', 'territory governed', *prison* (< PREHENSIONEM), continued to be used as an abstract noun as late as the sixteenth century, but O F also used *la prison* in the sense of 'prison', *le prison* in the sense of 'prisoner'

549 Quality for the person or object possessing it, and the like. *un génie, une jeunesse* (in familiar use), *des amitiés, des honneurs, potence* (POTENTIA) 'strength', whence 'support' (abstract and concrete), 'bracket', also specialized in the sense of 'crutch', later 'gibbet', *faveur* has derived its meaning 'ribbon' from the use of ribbons, sashes and the like as signs of a lady's favour, *jalousie*, applied to the lattice-screen, and then to a Venetian blind, as being a precautionary contrivance of the jealous husband, *discipline*, applied to the 'scourge' as the instrument of ascetic discipline

Object for the quality associated with it the heart being regarded as the seat of the affections and passions, *cœur* comes to be used in a variety of meanings 'inmost thoughts', 'secret disposition', 'courage', etc , *humeur, bile, colère* are similarly used in accordance with the ancient belief that there were in man four humours (literally fluids) upon which his character depended blood, phlegm, yellow bile (productive of anger), black bile (productive of melancholy; cf the subtitle of Molière's *Misanthrope*, 'L'atrabilaire amoureux'), *humeur* continued to be used in the sense of 'fluid', 'humidity' as late as the fifteenth century, but in the sixteenth it is already used in the abstract sense, and in the seventeenth it is much employed to denote 'moral character' or 'temporary disposition', *bile* (and its synonym *colère* < CHOLERA) came to denote 'anger', 'evil temper'

550 Object for action associated with it *la Grève* as a

proper name denoted a place on the bank of the Seine where unemployed workmen in search of work foregathered, whence *être en grève* involuntarily 'to be out of work' and thence voluntarily 'to be on strike', *la grève* coming ultimately to mean 'strike', *toilette* 'small piece of linen placed on the dressing-table', thence by extension 'toilet-table' and ultimately 'the act of washing, dressing, etc', from the latter is derived the modern concrete sense of 'fine attire', *livraison* denotes not only the act of 'delivery', but by extension the 'thing delivered' or 'an instalment'

551 The following may serve to illustrate further how a word sometimes goes through a succession of semantic developments of the above types *bureau* is a derivative of *bure* 'rough serge' and was specialized in the sense of 'cloth used to cover a table', thence the table itself, thence the room in which it is situated and finally all those at work in the room (cf in English such terms as The Office of Works), *grisette* is a derivative of *gris*, and from 'a greyish colour' came to denote a 'cheap grey cloth', then a garment made of such material, and finally a girl clad in clothes of such material, etc

METAPHOR

552 The metaphorical use of words is one of the commonest semantic developments A metaphor is in effect a comparison, condensed and implicit The two terms of the comparison may be concrete objects (*l'arête d'un toit, un fauteuil manchot, moucher une chandelle*), or one may be concrete, the other abstract, the commonest metaphor consisting in the investing of a concrete term with an abstract meaning *penser* (PENSARE), originally 'to weigh', *navrer*, originally 'to wound', *divertir*, originally 'to turn aside', *étiquette*, originally 'stick', then by metonymy 'a stick bearing a label', 'a label or ticket', and finally the metaphorical use as an abstract noun, *comprendre*, originally concrete 'to grasp', *flatter*, 'to stroke with the flat of the hand', 'to caress' The term so employed may continue to convey both notions (*étiquette*) or

the primary (concrete) meaning may entirely disappear (*navrer*) In the former case the metaphor is alive, in the latter it is dead, but its demise is a gradual process, and the concrete meaning may be dimly felt even after it has ceased to be definitely expressed One may say that it is not safe to mix metaphors until they are dead or moribund, but writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were less particular in this matter than those of the present day *La gloire n'est due qu'à un cœur qui sait fouler aux pieds les plaisirs* (Fénelon), Molière has not failed to exploit the mixed metaphor for comic effect, but it is sometimes difficult to draw the line between his conscious and his unconscious mixing of metaphors The following clearly belong to the first category· *Votre œil en tapinois me dérobe mon cœur Au voleur!* (*Préc Rid* IX), *Vous avez plus de peur que de mal, et votre cœur crie avant qu'on l'écorche —Comment diable! il est écorché depuis la tête jusqu'aux pieds* (*Préc Rid* IX) [1] The same metaphor may be alive to some and dead to others, the philologist is in such cases generally to be numbered with the former for him the language has or should have a fuller flavour than for others

553 The sources of metaphors are of the most divers kind and almost any concrete term may be used metaphorically, but for the metaphor to be generalized it is essential that the implicit comparison should be easily apprehended and felt to be apt The closer the community of interests, the more daring can the metaphor be, and the smaller the general vocabulary possessed by a speech-community, the greater will be the number of metaphorical meanings attributed to current words Hence, on the one hand, the development of many metaphorical uses in the restricted polite society of the seventeenth century, and on the other, the fondness for metaphor which characterizes the special languages of the various trades and callings, and popular speech in general (cf the countless slang expressions for 'head', beginning with *tête* itself, *boule, citron, poire, pomme,* etc , etc.).

[1] Cf Livet, *Lexique de Molière*, s v *cœur*

554 It is hardly necessary to stress the importance of metaphor as a literary device, but literary metaphors derive their force and picturesqueness from the very fact that they are not current, have not become hackneyed and, as images, moribund The generalization of such metaphors in current speech is the exception, while that of popular and technical metaphors is dependent only upon the familiarization of the general public with the objects and conditions which gave birth to the metaphor

FACTORS WHICH DETERMINE CHANGES IN MEANING

555 The factors which determine semantic developments are commonly classified under the headings Historical, Psychological, and Formal, but such a division is justified only by its convenience. A full account of the factors which have been responsible for the semantic evolution of French vocabulary would mean nothing less than retracing the mental, moral, and material evolution of the French people Not only has the meaning of words altered as the direct result of social and political changes, but the psychological and formal factors have not remained constant For example, the demand for the setting up of finer distinctions, the penchant for euphemistic expression[1] are not peculiar to French or to any one period, and they have not operated with uniform force throughout its history, nor in the same way as in other languages. We may say that the genius of the French race has found expression in the precision of its vocabulary, the rationalistic abstract bias, the setting up of fine distinctions, etc , but it is precisely upon such features that we base our conception of the 'genius of the race' [2] It is true that in the adaptation of the vocabulary inherited

[1] Cf the interesting chapter on French euphemisms in Nyrop, IV pp 257–321

[2] For a short but excellent appreciation of French vocabulary as compared with English, see the Introduction (pp 1–59) in R L Græme Ritchie and J M Moore, *Translation from French*, Cambridge, 1919

from Vulgar Latin a number of general tendencies have been persistent, but they too have not been constant or uniform The difficult and delicate problems raised by such considerations cannot in the present state of our knowledge be answered with any precision We shall content ourselves with presenting a number of typical examples, loosely grouped under the headings indicated above, and drawing such general inferences as appear to be warranted

556 I Changes in meaning determined by a change in the object denoted We include here changes in meaning that result directly from changes in political and social institutions and conditions Striking examples are furnished by such common notions as 'house', 'road', 'town', 'horse' [1]

'House' The barbarian invasions resulted in the destruction of the patrician DOMUS, leaving the humble countryman's hut together with its name CASA (O F *chiese*, Sp.-It.-Prov - Cat casa), superseded in more prosperous times by MANSIONEM (> *maison*), originally a country-house, and by HOSPITALEM (> *ostel* > *hôtel*), originally 'a hostel', then specialized in the sense of (*a*) 'hospital' (cf *hôtel-Dieu*), later replaced by the Learned *hôpital*, (*b*) 'town-house', sc capable of receiving guests, in Modern French restricted to the meaning 'mansion', (*c*) the modern 'hotel' For the humbler dwelling, in default of CASA, O F employed the derivatives *maisnil, maisnel, maisil, maisonnette* has survived from the twelfth century to develop a specialized meaning in our day, *ferme* has become the generic term for a farmhouse *Masure* (<*MANSURA), originally 'a dwelling' (twelfth century), has fallen upon evil days and competes upon unequal terms with such borrowings as *hutte* (Germ hütte, sixteenth century), *cabane* (Prov cabana, fourteenth century), *bicoque* (It bicocca, sixteenth century), *cassine* (It cassina, sixteenth century) It is a sign of modern fashion that *cottage* (Engl), *villa* (It), *chalet* (Swiss) have found their way into French vocabulary

557 'Road' The Latin generic VIA survived in the form

[1] The following notes (§§ 556–60) are partly based upon Dauzat, *Histoire*, pp 272–4

veie, *voie*, but its place appears from the beginning to have been largely usurped by the Celtic *CAMMINO (> *chemin*), which has remained the generic term The VIA STRATA LAPIDE persists as O F *estrée* (It strada, Sp estrada), which disappeared in Gaul with the destruction of the Roman roads, and was followed by the Merovingian (VIA) *CALCIATA (> *chaussée*, Sp calzada is borrowed from Prov), and later by the (VIA) RUPTA (> *route*), originally a road driven through wooded country O F *eire*, *oire* (< ITER) shared with *veie*, *voie* the more abstract meaning 'way', which *voie* has kept RUGA, 'wrinkle', 'crease', came to be used metaphorically in V L in the sense of 'road', but was early restricted to 'street' The derivative *charrière* formerly denoted a cart-track

558 'Town' With the disappearance of the Roman CIVITAS as a political entity, the name came to be used in the sense of URBS and was so used throughout the O F period, surviving in *l'île de la Cité, la Cité de Carcassonne*, etc , to designate the older portion of the town as opposed to the modern (*ville*) VILLA originally denoted a country domain, which in the Gallo-Roman period frequently became the centre of agglomerations and eventually of a town (*ville*) The village was denoted by the derivative *VILLATICUM (> *village*) The Germanic invaders were responsible for the introduction of the fortified BURGUS (burg), the name of which was extended to include the dependent village (*bourg*), and for the hamlet (*hameau*)

No less interesting is the development of the derivatives *vilain*, *bourgeois*, *citoyen* *Vilain* means in O F 'countryman', 'peasant', consequently 'commoner', and as such 'unversed in the rules of courtly etiquette', *vilain* thus became the antithesis of *courtois* (later of *gentilhomme*) and developed naturally the modern meanings 'common', 'ugly' *Bourgeois* has suffered in another way. Originally applied to the inhabitant of a *bourg*, it was extended to denote 'a citizen of the middle class', an enviable status for the greater part of the Middle Ages However, exposed to the envy of the have-nots and looked down upon with scorn by the nobles, whom he was

inclined to ape, he became the butt of satire and mockery, and *bourgeois* became in the seventeenth century the antithesis of *galant* Since then the term has become a taunt employed by artists, novelists, and communists, but can still upon occasion be used without pejorative meaning *Citoyen* (O F *citeain, citeyen*) denoted in the Middle Ages, more specifically than *bourgeois*, a 'town-dweller', but it appears to have developed at an early date the wider meaning 'citizen of the state', probably under Latin influence (cf *Hist Anc* 49 *la bataille citoienne* 'civil war'), and as such became the sole title recognized by the Revolution Its place has been partly taken by the Italian cittadino > *citadin* (fourteenth century) and the Learned *urbain*, the latter is found as early as the fourteenth century, but its extensive use is a recent development (cf the parallel extension of Engl urban)

559 'Horse' The Latin EQUUS was in V L supplanted by the popular CABALLUS (probably Celtic and originally 'nag'), which survived as the generic term in all the Romance languages (Fr *cheval*, It cavallo, Sp caballo) The feminine EQUA gave O F *ive*, Sp yegua, Prov ega JUMENTUM denoted in C L a beast of burden (horse, mule, ass, etc) and survived with this meaning in Italian (giumento) and originally in French, but in the extreme north of France it early came to be restricted to the 'mare', the chief beast of burden in those parts, just as in Spanish it was restricted to the 'ass' (jumento) From the North the use of *jument* in the restricted sense 'mare' spread to Paris and displaced *ive* throughout Northern France *Cavale* (< cavalla) was borrowed from Italian towards the end of the Middle Ages and has largely displaced *ega* in the South The stallion, not being employed in the fields, was called the stall-horse, L L STALLONEM (Germ stall) > *étalon* ADMISSARIUS and CANTHERIUS went out of general use in the Western Empire The gelding re-appears in the sixteenth century, first of all in Hungary, whence came the name *hongre* *Poulain* (< * PULLANUM), originally the young of any animal (cf C.L. PULLUS EQUINUS, PULLUS ASININUS, etc), is used as early as

the twelfth century in the restricted sense 'colt' [1] To denote the different varieties of horse, French, like Latin, has recourse to adjectives (*postier*, *mallier*, *limonier*) or their equivalents (*de selle*, *de course*, *pur sang*) or to borrowed words *genet* (fourteenth century), the small Sp -Arab jinete, *barbe* (sixteenth century), the It -Arab barbero (Berber), *bidet*, the humble It bidetto, *haquenée* (< ? Engl hackney), *cob*, *pony*, sometimes with secondary pejorative meaning *rosse* (fifteenth-century Germ ross) Old French distinguished between the *palefrei* (< PARAVEREDUM = παρά + VEREDUM 'an extra post-horse, a remount') 'a saddle horse for general utility purposes', the *destrier* (< DEXTRARIUM) 'charger', so called because it was led into battle on the right of the squire until required by the knight for actual combat, the *coursier* (der of *cours*) 'the fleet horse', and the *roncin* (L L RUNCINUM) 'the pack horse', which has become *roussin* (≠ *roux*) Cognate Sp rocín furnished Cervantes' Rocinante, whence French *rossinante*

560 The introduction of Christianity brought about many changes of meaning, which are, however, not the work of the people, they had already taken place in written Latin, and to some extent in Greek PRESBYTER (πρεσβύτερος) 'elder', 'elder or presbyter in the Christian Church' (*prêtre*), EPISCOPUS (ἐπίσκοπος) 'overseer', 'bishop' (*évêque*), PARABOLA (παραβολή) 'comparison', 'parable', 'word of God', 'word' (*parole*), the meaning 'parable' is taken over by the borrowed form *parabole* and 'the word of God' by VERBUM (*le Verbe*), MIRACULA, VIRTUTES, SIGNA similarly took the meaning 'miracles of the faith' (O F *merveille*, *vertu*, *signe*), CENARE is appropriated by the Church, and its place is taken by *DISJEJUNARE (*déjeuner* and *dîner*), the Devil is the enemy, hence ADVERSARIUS > *li aversiers* 'the Devil', *TROPARE 'to invent tropes' shows a popular generalization of meaning to *trouver* 'to invent', 'to find' As paganism proved most tenacious in the country districts, PAGANUS (der of PAGUS) 'country-

[1] *Poulain* is used in the modern jargon of sport to denote a young, aspiring athlete, probably in imitation of the English use of 'colt'

dweller', 'peasant', became ultimately in Church Latin the equivalent of 'heathen' (*paien*)

561. Changes in political organization and social relations are reflected in such words as the following

SENIOREM 'the senior', 'the elder' becomes *seigneur* 'the person in authority', 'the lord', preserved as a title of honour and long employed in addressing persons of noble birth (cf its use in classical tragedy), also *le Seigneur* 'the Lord', and *monseigneur* restricted to bishops since the eighteenth century The nominative *sendre* (<SENIOR) early disappeared (cf 1, 12) The contracted form *sire* (< *SEIOR), originally a more familiar form of address, came to be used in addressing royalty and was also the title of certain feudal lords (Jehan, sire de Joinville) Later it came to be associated with certain offices and to be used ironically or pejoratively, *messire* = *mes* (nom of *mon*) + *sire*, shows a similar degradation *Sieur* (< *SEIOREM) shows an even more rapid depreciation, but in combination with *mon-* became a title of respect *Monsieur* was applied in the first instance to persons of high rank, but was gradually extended until it became a polite formula, used when speaking to or about a person and prefixed to *votre père, votre frère*, etc., which would sound familiar if used by themselves Under the ancien régime it was still something more than a mere polite formula and stood but a degree below *monseigneur* (this is its force in XIV, 55)

562 DOMINUS has not survived except in the ecclesiastical *dom*, formerly also employed to render the Sp *don* In O F it is found in the form *dam(e)* (cf *vidame*), nom *danz*, used before proper names or titles, also in *Damnedeu, Damedieu, Damledeu*

DOMINA > *dame*, whence *madame*, formerly both titles of honour (*Dame Marie, Notre-Dame, les dames de France* 'daughters of the King') applied to married and unmarried ladies alike, they were gradually extended to ladies of the middle class, and since the ancien régime *madame* has been reserved for married ladies in general, while *dame* has ceased to be used as a form of address

*DOMINICELLUM > *damoiseau*, in O F 'squire' and loosely 'young nobleman', but in the seventeenth century had developed the modern pejorative meaning 'lady-killer'

*DOMINICELLA > *demoiselle*, which (like *mademoiselle*) was originally applied to a lady (married or unmarried) of noble birth, but began to be used of the middle class in the seventeenth century The restriction to single ladies takes place at the end of the ancien régime.

The evolution of *monsieur*, *madame*, etc , as polite forms of address continues, and one might almost say that each generation in this way brings with it modifications in the finer shades of characteristic French politeness, the complete mastery of which is for the foreigner no mean achievement

563 COMES, COMITEM 'companion' became in Roman times 'companion of the prince' and thus a title of honour (O F *cuens*, *conte*), which later carried with it a feudal domain (*comté*, Engl county), its original meaning was taken over by *CUMPANIO -ONEM (> *compagnon*), modelled on a Germanic word (cf Gothic gahlaiba = ga- 'with' + hlaiba 'bread', i e 'one who breaks bread with') The compound COMES STABULI gave by corruption *connétable*, originally 'the officer in charge of the royal stable', extended to denote a 'cavalry commander', 'governor of a fortified place', and ultimately 'commander in chief of the royal army' *Maréchal* (Germ marah 'horse' + skalk 'servant') shows a similar development

O F *marchis* (Germ mark- a + -ENSIS) 'lord of the marches' was re-modelled under the influence of It marchese, and in the form *marquis* became a title conferring precedence over a *comte* but ranking below a *duc*

564 *Chétif* (CAPTIVUM), originally 'prisoner', and still used in this sense in the sixteenth century, but the modern meaning 'weak', 'wretched' had developed in the pre-literary period and is eloquent of the treatment accorded to prisoners

Gêne and *gêner* continue O F *gehine* 'an extorted confession', a derivative of *jehir* (Germ jehan) 'to confess', 'to force a confession', and developed the meaning 'torture', 'instru-

ment of torture' owing to the means employed to extort a confession Both *gêne* and *gêner* preserved much of this force as late as the seventeenth century *Ah! que vous me gênez!* (*Andromaque*), *Allons, vite des juges, des gênes, des potences!* (*L'Avare*) Since then they have been still further weakened until they imply nothing more than discomfort, constraint

565 *Sergent* (< SERVIENTEM) 'the serving man' developed in O F the special meaning 'soldier', 'squire', in Mod F, while retaining the notion of service, it has come to denote an officer, public or military (non-commissioned) *sergent de ville, sergent, sergent-major*

Artillerie, a derivative of *artiller* (der of *art*), in conformity with its etymology denoted in O F the contrivances, instruments, missiles of warfare in general (cf Engl use in 1 Samuel xx, 40. "And Jonathan gave his artillery (i e missiles) unto his lad, and said unto him, Go, carry them to the city") The modern restricted meaning had not been completely accepted in the seventeenth century

566 *Manant* (pres part of *manoir* < MANĒRE), originally 'one who has a fixed dwelling, who is settled upon the land', 'a peasant', has shared the depreciation of *vilain*

O F *recreant* (pres part of *recroire* 'to renounce') 'one who renounces God, his leader or his cause', hence 'one who declares himself beaten', 'recreant'

567 *Parlement*, originally abstract, denoting 'the act of speaking', 'interview', and by metonymy 'assembly', became specialized under the ancien régime 'a sovereign court of justice' and specifically the *Parlement de Paris* The *Parlement* perished in the Revolution, but the name has, in imitation of the English Parliament, come to be applied to the representative chambers (*Chambre des Députés* + *Sénat*) Many other words, such as *intendant, procureur, conseiller, ministre*, reflect in a similar way changes in government and administration, i e changes in the object denoted

Libertin (borrowed in sixteenth century from LIBERTINUS, cf Bloch, *Dict*), originally merely a free-thinker, but as the seventeenth-century free-thinkers were in many cases in

revolt, not only against authority in matters of religion, but against austerity in conduct, their condemnation by the Church began to invest the word even at that time with the taint of loose morals

Boulevard (Dutch bolwerc) 'a rampart', 'defensive fortification' (cf Hugo, *Préface de Cromwell sans en faire un boulevard à son ouvrage*) With the razing of the old ramparts of Paris and their transformation into avenues lined with trees, the word has developed its modern meaning and is applied to avenues in other towns as well

Artisan (It artigiano, sixteenth century) kept the meaning 'artist', 'craftsman' throughout the seventeenth century, since when a sharper distinction has become necessary (*artiste—artisan*)

Librairie, originally 'library', came to be restricted after the seventeenth century to a 'book-seller's shop' with its library-like arrangement, *bibliothèque* (dating from the fifteenth century) taking its place

568 *Roman* (older *romant*) is the analogical accusative of O F *romanz* (<*ROMANICE,[1] which was originally applied to the Romance language as spoken throughout the Roman Empire, but was eventually applied to works composed in the Romance vernacular of France, Spain, etc , as opposed to Latin) In Old French, *romanz—roman* came to denote specifically narrative poems of an entertaining nature, but it could also be applied to legends and chronicles in the vernacular The modern meaning, which represents both a restriction and an extension (applied to a novel in any language), dates from the later Middle Ages when the verse romances passed into prose

Espiègle, patelin, and the like, reflect the former popularity of literary works and figures (*Till Eulenspiegel, La Farce de Maître Pierre Patelin*) Similarly *gavroche* 'street-urchin' goes back to the character Gavroche in Hugo's *Les Misérables*.

569 The semantic development of terms denoting articles of attire, furniture, and commodities of various kinds furnishes

[1] = 'in Roman (Romance) fashion' (ROMANICE LOQUI)

matter for many a chapter in social history (e g *chapeau*, *armoire*, *lampe*).

Guêtre, originally the rough footwear of the peasant, is transformed in the nineteenth century into the 'gaiter'. The old meaning survives in the expression *Il est venu en guêtres à Paris* (i e penniless)

Fauteuil represents O F *faldestuel* (< Germ *faldistōl- = faldan 'to fold' + stōl- 'stool', 'chair'), which denoted a folding chair reserved for distinguished persons

CAPPA 'cloak' (first found in Isidore of Seville) shows an interesting development It gives in the first place French *chape* 'cloak', early restricted to 'cope', 'priestly vestment', and developed a variety of metaphorical meanings (*sous chape*) The diminutives CAPPELLA 'small cloak or cope' and CAPPELLUS 'head-gear', 'chaplet' developed early, CAPPELLA was by metonymy applied to the resting-place 'chapel' in which was kept and venerated the cloak of St Martin of Tours, whence the general meaning of *chapelle*

CAPPELLUM > *chapel*, Mod F *chapeau*, derivative *chapelet*, which has preserved the old meaning 'chaplet', formerly also 'small hat'.[1]

570 The Revolution has left its mark in many semantic evolutions, which the following may serve to illustrate

Jacobin, derived from the name of the street *Saint Jacques* (JACOBUS) in which was situated the chief convent of the Dominican order in Paris Hence the meaning 'a monk of the Dominican order', but the same convent having served as the meeting-place of a revolutionary club, the name *jacobin* was applied to members of the club and by extension to those who held similar views

Sans-culotte, reputed to have been first applied by the abbé Maury in the Constituante to the representatives of the people because they wore, not the fashionable *culotte*, but the common *pantalon* Adopted by the revolutionaries themselves

[1] CAPPA is further represented by a vast number of derivatives (*chaperon*, *chapier*, *chapelier*), including many borrowings from Italian (*capot*, *capucin*)

as an honourable epithet, *sans-culotte* became the equivalent of 'radical revolutionary'.

Libéral, radical, socialiste, and other political labels present a semantic development which reflects the whole political history of recent times

571 II It is more difficult to assess the importance of historical facts in those semantic developments which reflect a change in mental and moral outlook, except in so far as the latter reveals definite pre-occupations

For the pre-literary period we have abundant evidence of those metaphorical uses and extensions or restrictions of meaning which we associate with a popular language The pre-occupation with things of the soil is reflected in such developments as the following: PONERE > *pondre*, CUBARE > *couver*, ARISTA, BRANCA, TIBIA, metaphorically used, receive the meaning of *arête, branche, tige*, SATIONEM 'the sowing season' is for the countryman *the* season and becomes *la saison*, MINARE 'to urge on (cattle) by means of cries' comes to mean 'to lead' (*mener*) Trade and barter furnish CAMBIARE 'to change money' > 'to change' (*changer*), EXAGIUM, TALENTUM, *ARRIPARE 'to land' are similarly extended (*essai, talent, arriver*) Soldiers' language furnishes the metaphor PAPILIONEM, applied to a tent (*pavillon*) because of its flaps recalling the wings of a butterfly, INGENIUM by metonymy denotes the product *engin* 'a war machine', also 'contrivance', 'trick', 'trap', beside abstract 'deceit', 'trickery' Other abstract terms are pressed into service to denote concrete objects VECTURA > *voiture*, VENATIONEM > *venaison*, simple abstract notions are often denoted by concrete terms used metaphorically ANGUSTIA > *angoisse* Popular metaphors of the slang variety are TESTA 'pot', 'potsherd' for 'head' (*tête*), GABATA 'bowl' for 'cheek' (> *GAUTA > *joue*), beside the doublet *jatte* 'dish', MANDUCARE (> *manger*), after a character in comedy (MANDUCUS) pictured with wide-open mouth The lack of precision in general (as opposed to technical) vocabulary, which is characteristic of popular speech, may be regarded as partly responsible for such shifting of meaning

as we have in COXA 'hip' > 'hip-bone' > 'thigh' (*cuisse*), BUCCA 'puffed-out cheek' > 'oral cavity' > 'mouth' (*bouche*), GAMBA 'hoof' > 'hoof-joint' > 'leg' (*jambe*), SPONSUM 'betrothed' > 'spouse' (*époux*), NEPOTEM 'descendant' > 'grandson' > 'nephew' (*neveu*)

572 In the following period (O F. and Mid F) the same factors operate, in so far as the language remains popular and pre-occupations the same A noticeable feature is the number of metaphors furnished by the chase, the favourite relaxation of the upper classes *acharner* (der. of *charn*, later *chair*) 'to excite dogs or hawks with the taste of flesh', 'to inspire with animosity or to intense effort', *ameuter*, *amorce*; *appât*, *chasser*, *dépister*, *hagard* (der of Germ h a g - a > *haie*) 'a hawk caught in the hedges', hence 'wild', 'haggard'; *hobereau* 'hobby-hawk', derisively applied to a poor country squire, *leurre* 'decoy', *niais* 'young falcon captured in his nest', 'simpleton', locutions. *être aux abois*, *être à l'affût*, *marcher sur les brisées de quelqu'un* (from the broken branches marking an animal's course), *revenir bredouille* 'to return empty-handed, at a loss'

573 But there is a growing tendency to abstraction and the metaphorical use of concrete terms for abstract notions This is closely bound up with the utilization of the language for literary purposes In this connection K Vossler[1] has brought out very clearly how Old French poets concentrate upon the moral aspects of a situation or action rather than the pictorial, and how the vocabulary, without becoming definitely abstract, is given a decided twist in this direction (e g *adrecié* 'made straight' > 'instructed', 'versed', 'equipped') and words already abstract are given a more subjective meaning (*achever* 'to bring to an end' > 'to succeed') One may add that this is no purely literary movement, for it is hardly too much to say that to the medieval mind life itself was a metaphor. Consequently, in default of analysis, the medieval poet is led to a species of continuous metaphor, allegory The result is not only the investing of

[1] *Op cit* pp 87–95

concrete terms with abstract meaning but that personification of abstract notions which is characteristic of later medieval literature (*male bouche* 'evil tongue', having come to denote 'scandal', is personified and appears as a character in the *Roman de la Rose*) In Middle French there is on balance a marked general tendency towards abstraction This finds expression in the breaking down of a barrier, in the intermingling of the concrete and the abstract, rather than in the metaphorical use of concrete terms (which declines); for the rapid influx of abstract Learned words easily met requirements in this direction By their adoption the concrete terms were set free for the rendering of those pictorial values which begin to find recognition and expression towards the end of the Middle Ages

574 As a result of these developments the sixteenth century presents an extraordinary uncertainty and confusion in semantic values, complicated by the attribution of classical or foreign meanings to native forms, sometimes accompanied by a formal re-modelling *soudart* (together with *soudoyer*), the old medieval man-at-arms, gives way to *soldat*, the new (Italian) conception of what a soldier should be, the re-modelling of O F *afaitier* 'to prepare carefully' to *affecter* took place before the sixteenth century and facilitated the attribution of the Latin meaning 'to strive' But often there is no external sign The lateness of such attributions is often borne out by the absence of the new meaning in words borrowed into English from French at an earlier date

575 In the following list the meanings borrowed in the sixteenth century from Latin follow the plus sign *arête* 'fish-bone' + 'beard of corn', *conférer* 'to transfer' + 'to compare', *déduire* 'to amuse', 'to deduce' + 'to deduct', *défiance* 'defiance' + 'mistrust' (associated with Lat DIFFIDENTIA); *desservir* 'to deserve' + 'to serve diligently'; *dispenser* 'to dispensate' + 'to distribute', *édifier* 'to erect' + L L 'to edify', *estrade* (It. strada) 'road' + 'platform', *exaucer* 'to raise' + 'to gratify a wish', *grâce* 'favour', 'mercy' + 'graciousness', 'gracefulness', *ingrat* 'thankless' + 'unpleasing', *office* 'office',

'post'+'duty' Much more numerous are the borrowed meanings which are found in individual writers only, or have not survived, although common in the sixteenth century *aliéné*, meaning 'strange', *étude* 'inclination', *libertin* 'freedman'

576 Attribution of Italian meanings *air* 'tune' (aria); *attaquer*, military meaning 'to attack' (attaccare), *créature —être la créature de qqn* 'to owe him everything one is', *dévotion* 'devotion to persons or causes other than God' (divozione), *estampe* 'stamping instrument'+'engraving' (stampa), *estoc* 'tree-stump'+'rapier' (stocco), *loge* 'bower', 'lodge'+'loggia', *pause* (O F also *pose*) 'interruption'+'musical rest', *serviteur* and *service* receive their gallant meaning from Italian In many cases it is impossible to decide whether the borrowed meaning is due to Italian or to Latin influence *Flotte* 'army', 'armament' owes its meaning 'fleet' to the influence of Sp flota

577 We have already alluded to the important changes which French vocabulary underwent in the seventeenth century (§ 10) For a full account of the semantic developments in this period the reader should consult Brunot, III, 1, pp 226–61 (*Travail sémantique*) Two main tendencies are to be distinguished, one making for greater precision, the other for abstraction Both are to a considerable extent manifestations of the growing rationalism of the age and the general desire for order and regularity, but depend largely upon the preponderant rôle played by the salon and the fact that in essentials there was a close agreement between grammarians, Précieuses, and writers The grammarians, beginning with Malherbe, are intent upon introducing regularity into the chaotic vocabulary of the sixteenth century, upon the elimination of synonyms or what were sometimes treated as synonyms in the preceding age *aspect—spectacle, débile—faible, dormir—sommeiller, continu—assidu, contraire—différent, simple—unique, chaire—chaise, consommer—consumer, fatal—funeste, fureur—furie, reliques—restes, soupçonneux—suspect, effroyable—redoutable—terrible—horrible*, etc The abstract and the concrete terms are

no longer to overlap, the simple word is to be distinguished from its derivative *jardin—jardinage, luire—reluire, lever—élever* The same precision is aimed at throughout the vocabulary, obsolete and obsolescent acceptations being pruned away and connotations eliminated as far as possible, the abstract meaning being thus preferred to the pictorial and poetic values The pre-occupation with questions of the mind and heart, which is characteristic of seventeenth-century society and literature, demanded such precision and the elaboration of an extensive abstract vocabulary for the rendering of the finest shades of thought and feeling These needs were met by a rational and discerning utilization of the abundant raw material handed on by the sixteenth century, also by the liberal use of concrete terms in an abstract sense *amorce, appas* (XVII, 21), *assiette, démordre de qqch, dessein, enflammé* (XVII, 58), *entrailles, essuyer, feu, guindé, ressort, trait*

578 The Précieuses contributed powerfully to this process of purifying, standardization, and abstraction We are not here concerned with their more laboured, ingenious, and highly artificial attempts to avoid the 'terme propre' (*l'ameublement de la bouche* for *les dents*, and the like), their hyperbolic figures of speech and exaggerations (*furieusement* for 'very', *dernier* for 'utmost'), nor with such antithetic expressions as *tristement doux, sombrement éclairci*, and the use of *chose* and *affaire* as passe-partout words in place of the word one cannot call to mind at the moment or affects to forget Such aberrations are the products of a society intent upon avoiding the trite and banal no less than the vulgar, and some of them might be paralleled from other periods Their influence is to be seen in the forced and mixed metaphors which abound in writers of the time, even in Molière, though he himself ridiculed this foible (cf § 552) By their avoidance of the 'terme propre' and in their happier metaphors (*billet doux, un tour d'esprit, travestir sa pensée, châtier son œuvre*) the Précieuses helped to form the language of the classical writers and have left their mark permanently upon the French language (*beau* (XVII, 35), *esprit, bel esprit, précieux, cœur, vœux* (XVII, 20),

soupirant (XVII, 28), *blondin, damoiseau, commerce*) The abundance of metaphorical uses which developed in this period is due to the fact that writers and Précieuses formed part of a compact society with common interests, and therefore quick to seize upon the comparison implied in the metaphor It was in the salon that the ideal of the *honnête homme* was evolved, and a whole volume by Faret (1630)[1] did not suffice to bring out all the shades of meaning with which the word *honnête* was endowed, some of these shades are still apparent, e g if we compare *un honnête homme* with *un homme honnête* Cf also Brunot's interesting study of the word *galant* (*op cit* pp 237–40) The Précieuses are also responsible for the large number of euphemisms which developed in the seventeenth century, but it is well to bear in mind that their sensitiveness is of a different kind from that of the Puritan and did not prevent their calling a spade a spade with a freedom which sometimes comes as a shock

579 The spell which the Classical writers of Rome threw over the writers of this period is reflected in a number of borrowed meanings *admirer* 'to admire' + 'to wonder at', *dénier* 'to deny' + 'to refuse to give', *fatal* 'inevitable' + 'ordained', sometimes in a favourable sense, *fureur* 'fury' + 'madness' The following have not survived *célèbre*, often used in the sense of 'solemn', 'stately', *conseil*, in Fénelon and Bossuet, 'prudence' Meanings borrowed from Italian *accuser* 'to confirm' (*Je vous accuse reception de votre lettre*), *négoce* 'affair' + 'business'

580 The semantic developments which have taken place since the seventeenth century are numerous, as a glance at such a compilation as Clyrou's[2] will show But the fundamental character of the vocabulary as then constituted has not altered, in spite of the Revolution, the Romantic reaction (which affects primarily the literary language), the growing popular influence, the gradual infiltration into the standard language of meanings and metaphors taken from the technical

[1] *L'Honneste homme, ou l'art de plaire à la Cour*
[2] Cited in the Bibliography

languages If we compare the vocabulary of standard Modern French with that of English we find that it is distinguished by those qualities which the seventeenth century developed and perfected, and it may be claimed that this is so because in that age the French genius found its truest expression However that may be, it remains true that from the seventeenth century onwards usage has been more thoroughly standardized and the conserving factors have been more powerful in French than in any other language Thus we may still say of Modern French that its vocabulary is less vague, less charged with connotations, more abstract, more suitable as a language of psychological analysis, richer in metaphors which reflect the life of the salon than, say, English The tendency to abstraction, which French educational methods perhaps foster, is further reflected in the common use of many abstract terms which would sound slightly pedantic or 'learned' in English

581 Among the more striking semantic changes since the seventeenth century one may instance the development of many technical meanings connected with the arts (colour and design) This is closely bound up with the development of artistic criticism since Diderot, and with the vindication and exploitation by the Romantics and later literary movements of pictorial and evocative values in vocabulary The range of adjectives denoting colours and shades was already very large in Old French, which offers a striking contrast with Latin in this respect Old French had resorted to various devices to satisfy a desire for greater precision and finer distinctions derivatives (*rosé, roset, rosin, rosenet, rosal, roselent, rosenc, rosaz*), composition (*enrosé*), new formations (*flori, cendreux, vain*), borrowings, chiefly from Germanic (*blanc, gris, blau, blöi, bleu, brun, blond, saur, fauve*, and derivations from these). The seventeenth century made few additions, and many of the O F terms were dropped or had gone out of use. In Modern French, with the development of artistic criticism and of word-painting ('transposition d'art'), particularly from Hugo and Gautier onwards, there has been

a striking increase, a favourite device being the use of substantives as adjectives to denote or suggest the colour of the object or material specified (*acajou*, *ardoise*, *groseille*, *marron*, *or*, *puce*, *saumon*) Terms denoting design, line, etc have been similarly multiplied in recent times by semantic changes

582 Borrowed meanings from Latin have been few since the seventeenth century, eighteenth-century *indulgent* 'indulgent towards' + 'yielding to', *perdition* 'perdition' + 'process of destruction or loss', *compétence* 'competence' + 'competition', since lost, *détriment* 'disadvantage' + 'detritus', since lost, nineteenth-century *mode* (m) + 'manner', *fréquent* + 'numerous', *candeur* + 'whiteness'; *labeur* + 'travail', since lost From Italian, eighteenth-century *rivière* 'plain adjoining bank or shore' + 'Riviera', *natif* 'native, born in' + 'inborn', *paillasse* + 'clown' (pagliaccio), nineteenth-century *horaire* 'hourly' + 'time-table' (orario)

583 A growing number of meanings have been borrowed from English cognate words, eighteenth-century *commodité* 'convenience' + 'commodity' (com), *pétition* 'postulation' + 'petition' (pol), *adresse* + 'political address or petition', *juré* + 'juryman', *motion* + 'resolution', *planteur* + 'planter' (col), *session*, *voter*, nineteenth-century *ballade* 'medieval genre' + 'ballad', a poem dealing with a popular legend; *attraction*, *confort*, *exhibition*, *importer*, *majorité*, *minorité*, *plateforme*, *surprise*, and *entraîner*, *record* used as sporting terms under the influence of English 'train', 'record' Occasionally *accomplissements*, *gentilhomme*, *humeur*, *lecture* are used with meanings taken from their English cognates A few meanings have been borrowed from German in modern times. *culture* (kultur), *motif* (leitmotif), *lecteur* (lektor) 'assistant lecturer (foreign) at a university', *subjectif* and *objectif* probably came to be used as terms of literary criticism under German influence [1]

584 The following words have since the seventeenth century lost the meanings indicated *admirer* 'to wonder at',

[1] For further examples, see H Hatzfeld, *op cit*

affecter qqn 'to like', *amusement* 'waste of time', 'delay', *appui* 'action of supporting, upholding', *assemblée* 'social gathering', *audience* 'hearing', 'attention', *austère* 'sour', *badin* 'foolish', *se barbouiller* 'to compromise oneself', *bâtiment* 'act of building', *brave* 'elegant', *capable* 'capacious', *captiver* 'capture', 'hold prisoner', *célèbre* 'solemn', *change = changement*, *conversation* 'intercourse', *courage* 'heart as the seat of affection', *curieux* 'careful', *d'abord* 'from the beginning', *d'ailleurs* 'from elsewhere', *devis* 'talk', *dévot* 'bigot', 'hypocrite', *domestique* 'person attached to a noble household', *douter* 'to distrust', *entendre à* 'to pay attention to', *époux* 'betrothed', *estime* 'valuation', 'opinion (good or bad)', *estomac* 'chest', *étage* 'social rank', *étrange* 'extraordinary', 'striking' (much stronger in the seventeenth century and used of great catastrophes), *étonner* 'to agitate suddenly' (often concrete), *événement* 'issue', *fâcher* 'to disgust', *fier* 'fierce', *flatter* 'to caress', *gêne* 'torture', 'instrument of torture', *gêner* 'to torture', 'to torment', *gloire* 'good name', *grimace* 'hypocrisy', 'pretence', *impertinent* 'out of place', 'inappropriate', *libertin* (cf § 567), *ménage, ménagerie* 'domestic administration', *négoce* 'affair' (other than commercial), *nouvelliste* 'a gossip', *partir* 'to divide', 'to share', *plaisant* 'pleasing', *plancher* 'ceiling', *quereller qqn* 'to accuse' (cf XVII, 9) or *qqch à qqn* 'to blame', *ressentiment* 'pleasant recollection', *réussir* 'to result', *stupide* 'struck with stupor', *succéder* 'to find access', 'to happen'

585 In the following words the pejorative meaning has developed or been given prominence since the seventeenth century *amas* (cf XVII, 38), *artifice*, *débiter*, *débonnaire*, *dispute*, *embonpoint*, *faquin* 'porter', *goutte* (as neg part), *injure* (still commonly in the seventeenth century 'injury', 'injustice', 'harm', and similarly *injurier, injurieux*), *licence*, *obséder qqn* 'to monopolize' (XVII, 13), *pédant*, *stupide*

586 The distinction between the following pairs of words is modern, or if made in the seventeenth century, was not strictly and universally observed: *consommer—consumer* (the modern distinction is not etymological, *consommer* meaning not only 'to consummate', but 'to consume profitably' as

opposed to *consumer* 'to consume destructively'), *aieux—aieuls*, *lever—élever*, *fureur—furie*, *jour—journée*, *amant* 'accepted lover' —*amoureux* 'person in love' (XVII, 3, but cf Corneille, *Le Cid*), *original—originel*, *procès—procédé*, *recouvrer—recouvrir*, *fatal—funèbre—funeste*; *étrange*, *regards* are no longer used for *étranger* and *égards* respectively, as they were in the seventeenth century

587 We have seen how the meaning of many words has changed under the influence of foreign words of similar form To such cases might be added those in which formal association with a native word (not a derivative) has induced semantic change, they are difficult to prove, but the following may be advanced with tolerable certainty *affirmer* + 'to consolidate' ≠*affermir*, *bizarre* 'brave' + 'queer' ≠*bigarré*, *classique* + (*édition*) *classique* 'school (edition)' ≠*classe*, *décréditer* 'to discredit' + 'to decry' ≠*décrì*, *étourneau* 'starling' + 'giddy person' ≠*étourdi*, *forain* 'foreign', 'wandering' + 'wandering showman' ≠*foire*, *fronder* 'to sling' + 'to find fault', 'to revolt' ≠*Fronde* 'sling', metaphorically applied to the revolutionary movement in the seventeenth century, *génie* + 'engineering corps' ≠*ingénieur*, (*h*)*abiller* 'to equip' + 'to clothe' ≠*habit*, whence also *h*, *hébéter* 'to dull' + 'to stupefy' ≠*bête*, *honorer* + 'to pay' ≠*honoraire*, *orient* + 'lustre' ≠*oriental* in *perles orientales*, etc , *parade* + 'display' ≠*parer*, *peuplier* + 'the tree of the people, revolutionary symbol' ≠*peuple*, *plantureux* 'plentiful' + 'fertile', 'luxuriant' ≠*plante*, *ridicule* + 'bag' ≠*réticule*, *souffreteux* 'needy' + 'ailing' ≠*souffrir*, *voltiger* 'to vault' + 'to flutter' ≠*voleter*

E *LOSS OF WORDS*

588 In the preceding pages we have had occasion to observe that words or certain meanings of words gradually gain or lose currency The currency of a word is like that of any token and (more than most) it is constantly changing Not only is the value of the token subject to fluctuation, but its circulation may be restricted or extended Although no longer generally current, it may continue to be accepted as

'legal' tender within a narrower sphere When it ceases completely to circulate and to serve as a medium of exchange, it becomes a part of history and important as such, but it can no longer be used except for ornamental purposes If it is used, it is in the manner of the guinea which lives on convention, just as the poet continues under licence to use words which have ceased to circulate We may carry the analogy further and say that, just as the currency of a token is menaced by excessive deflation or inflation, so the overloading of a word with meanings or the progressive restriction of meaning may drive it out of circulation Another token is preferred, one which has an unmistakable and definite value But it is obvious that our analogy ceases to serve once we examine in detail the causes and processes by which words suffer loss of currency or go out of circulation

589 The simplest case is that of loss through the disappearance of the object for which the word is the token Revolutions, whether political, administrative, religious or social, result in the disappearance of objects, institutions, and conceptions, these generally carry with them the terms by which they are denoted, unless the term is preserved and applied to analogous objects The break-up of the Roman Empire and the introduction of Christianity resulted in the abandonment of the vocabulary of paganism and of many words identified with Roman conditions of life Similarly, the decay of the feudal system, the revolution in methods of warfare, in arms and equipment, and in conditions of life generally at the end of the Middle Ages, result in the loss of many words The disappearance of the social and political institutions of the ancien régime marks another series of losses at the end of the eighteenth century, but in this case many words were adapted to new uses (see above) Less striking, but still fairly numerous, are the losses resulting from social and industrial changes since the Revolution

590 More complicated is the case of an object which remains, but for which another term is preferred The factors which determine this preference are of various kinds, and

two or more may combine to drive a word out of circulation

(1) Change in the nature of the object Striking examples are furnished by the vocabulary of dress and costume or of vehicles (French has abandoned *char-à-bancs* and quite inexplicably prefers *car* for the modern sight-seeing conveyance)

(2) Change in the mentality of those who speak the language, in their state of culture, their pre-occupations, etc. We have here to do with psychological factors that are partly constant, partly variable and dependent upon social conditions (see above)

(*a*) The demand for precision is far from constant. A decline in culture involves the abandonment of fine distinctions, so far as the general vocabulary is concerned. This is clearly revealed in the abandonment in Vulgar Latin of many words which are more or less synonymous. Brunot (1, 109) cites the interesting example of the many Classical Latin equivalents of 'to shine', reduced in Vulgar Latin to a mere half-dozen The subtle shades of meaning and connotation which distinguish apparently synonymous words, and which characterize a literary language, are lost or ignored, and absolute synonymity is a luxury no language can afford The French writers of the sixteenth century allowed themselves to indulge in this luxury, with a consequent sacrifice of precision. It was left to the seventeenth century to bestow upon the French language that precision which has remained its chief virtue This was accomplished by setting up clear distinctions between so-called synonyms (§ 577) or by dropping one of the synonymous words In this way, quite apart from other pruning methods, the actual number of words was greatly reduced, but precision was achieved

(*b*) The demand for greater expressiveness and vividness is more constant A new and apt metaphor tends to replace a faded one, a word which conjures up the object or action more vividly is generally preferred (§ 552 ff)

591 (*c*) The demand for clearness is more closely associated with the formal aspect of the language Clearness

requires that the symbol shall be unmistakable and unequivocal, that the word shall have body, and that it shall not be liable to confusion with another word of identical or similar form These requirements are closely connected, for the shorter the word (i e the fewer the constituent sounds), the more likely is the same combination of sounds to recur in the language (pẽ = *pain*, *peins*, *peint*, *pin*) The phonetic evolution of French has been, as a whole, so rapid and the process of erosion so extensive that a large number of homonyms has been created. A distinction in spelling is often retained and sometimes introduced So long as such auxiliary devices and the context suffice to distinguish homonyms, no sacrifice of clearness is entailed (*louer* 'to praise' is unlikely to be confused with *louer* 'to let'), but if the homonyms belong to the same order of ideas, there is obviously a danger of confusion, the result is a struggle for existence which often means the elimination of the weaker, i e of the word most easily dispensed with (e g. O F *e(s)mer* collided with *aimer* and was eliminated, the Learned *estimer* being at hand to take its place) The conflict is therefore more than a pure 'collision homonymique', and a variety of factors may intervene to decide the issue Thus it is difficult to believe that BELLUM 'war' would have been eliminated by BELLUM 'beautiful' had war itself not come to be largely a Germanic affair and to be denoted by the Germanic w e r r a (> *guerre*) Homonymity is best described as a disability which renders a word less able to compete with its semantic rivals Vulgar Latin already presented many words suffering from this disability (VIR collided with VERUM, VERO, VER, HABENA with AVENA, FIDIS with FIDES), and their number was greatly increased in French, particularly towards the end of the Middle Ages, when final consonants and final *ə* were eliminated We have already seen that hesitation in pronunciation and the restoration of final consonants particularly affect short words and were freely utilized as therapeutic devices (§ 125 ff) The tendency to prefer the long to the short word can be abundantly illustrated from Vulgar Latin

(FORTIA, BUCCA, CAMPANIA preferred to VIS, OS, RUS) and partly accounts for the prevalence of derivatives (*SPERANTIA, HIBERNUM, *GENUCULUM, AURICULA, AVICELLA, AGNELLUS, for SPES, HIEMS, GENU, AURIS, AVIS, AGNUS) Similarly in French *mul* replaced by *mulet*, *tor* by *taureau*, *ef* (< APEM) by *abeille*

592 (3) Loss of currency may also result from a variety of associative influences A word which is one of a series o cognate or derivative forms derives support from that association, whereas a word which stands alone and is seldom used is at a disadvantage (*binocle* and *missive* have been unable to stand against *lorgnon* and *lettre*) A word may lose caste owing to its unpleasant associations (*garce* ousted by *fille*, replaced in its turn by *jeune fille*), or may fall a victim to the fickleness of fashion (*précieux*, *fable*, *intellectuel*) One may regret the preference so commonly shown in modern times for the Learned word as against the Popular (*perturber* preferred to *troubler*, *émotionner* to *émouvoir*) [1]

593 There remain a large number of words which have simply dropped out of use for no apparent reason, words which lose currency, come to be considered old-fashioned or archaic, and as such are completely disowned Countless Old French words were abandoned in this way, as a glance at Godefroy's *Lexique* will show *ourr* (because it is too short?), *isnel* (because it is isolated?), *bouter*, *roiste*, etc ; *déconfit*, *guerdon* have been abandoned in more recent times *Accort* 'adroit', *amiable*, *appas*, *appointeur*, *arroi*, *baisemain*, *braverie*, *chopper*, *congruent*, *conjouir*, *consolatif*, and many other words now obsolete or obsolescent, were still current in the seventeenth century The following have lost currency since the beginning of the nineteenth century *boulingrin*, *déconstruire*, *déité*, *délectable*, *fredon*, *guéret*, *peinturer*, *ris*, *sauvagine*,[2] and the process continues Many new words coined at the time of the Revolution (names of the months in the Revolutionary calendar and the like) had but a short existence

[1] Cf Dauzat, *Histoire*, p 228

[2] Examples taken from *Petit de Julleville* (Brunot), VIII, p 868, cf also VII, pp 842–4

594 As has been indicated above, loss of currency can take place by degrees, and words are labelled by lexicographers as archaic, obsolete, obsolescent, poetic, popular, according to the degree and range of their currency While it is possible to say of many words that they are now no longer current in such and such a sphere or with such and such a meaning, it is quite another undertaking to establish the currency of particular words in earlier periods of the language From the sixteenth century onwards we have more precise data to go upon; we know, for example, that many of the words used by sixteenth-century writers had no currency in the spoken language and represent conscious archaism or an attempt at resuscitation [1] The gradual elimination of words from general currency can be observed in our own day, and in special cases almost from year to year

595 Words which have lost currency in the standard language may continue to be used or artificially revived for literary purposes The literary language of the seventeenth century afforded little shelter for such words, but in the sixteenth, and again in the nineteenth, archaisms were freely employed (sixteenth century *gab*, *grevance*, *laidanger*, *merir*, nineteenth century *admonester*, *feurre*, *pantois*, *remembrance*, cf *Petit de Julleville* (Brunot), VIII, pp 738–42) Many words find a last refuge in popular speech or patois (*avaricieux*, *bailler*, *choir*, *cotte*) Others are preserved in fixed locutions (*à huis clos*, *faire bonne chère*, *au fur et à mesure*, *par monts et par vaux*, *sain et sauf*), become petrified (*règne animal*), or, devoid of meaning, continue to serve a functional purpose (*rien*)

[1] Cf Brunot, II, pp 182–8

Appendix A

SELECTIONS

The following extracts are partly intended to illustrate the development of the French language as a literary medium, from the terse and pithy lines of the unknown author of the *Sequence of Eulalia* to the classical Alexandrines of Molière, from the direct, naive, and simple narrative of Villehardouin to the exuberant, racy prose of Rabelais and the artistic nonchalance of Montaigne's *Essais* It is impossible to find space for the illustration of every type, and in any case we have thought it preferable to enable the reader to observe the progress made in one or two genres the writing of history from Villehardouin to Froissart, the treatment of the same theme by Marie de France and by La Fontaine It is not our aim to present what we consider the best passages of the best writers, but rather characteristic specimens

At the same time these extracts are intended to serve as linguistic documents, and we were therefore bound to begin with the earliest extant piece of French prose, the *Strasburg Oaths* We have endeavoured to ensure that, so far as possible, each extract shall serve as an authentic document For Extracts I–V, VIII, X, we have reproduced without corrections, except those indicated in the text[1] or in the footnotes, the manuscript named Abbreviations have been expanded, diacritic signs and punctuation added, *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* distinguished, but no attempt has been made to correct or standardize spelling The remarks on orthography made in Chapter IV may thus find their partial illustration here To obviate any difficulty in interpretation created by this close adherence to spellings and dialectal forms, we have added a few brief notes and have translated a number of extracts

Similarly, we have considered it to be of some interest to

[1] Letters or words placed in square brackets are not in the manuscript and are to be supplied, letters or words to be suppressed are placed in parentheses

reproduce without change (except *s* for *ſ*) contemporary editions of Molière and La Fontaine For Extract XIII we have reproduced F Heuckenkamp's exact reprint of the first edition of the *Quinze Joyes de Mariage*, perhaps one of the first books to be printed with movable type

Bibliographical indications will be found in P Studer and E G R Waters, *Historical French Reader*, Oxford, 1924, and in the separate editions of the works from which our extracts are taken The following works dealing with French versification may here be mentioned L E Kastner, *A History of French Versification*, Oxford, 1903, M Grammont, *Le Vers français*, Paris, 2nd ed 1913; A Tobler, *Vom franzosischen Versbau*, Leipzig, 5th ed 1910, and French translation by K Breul and L Sudre, *Le Vers français ancien et moderne*, Paris, 1885. For the development of Modern French prose, see G. Lanson, *L'Art de la Prose*, Paris, 13th ed 1909

I *STRASBURG OATHS*

Date of Composition 842 Date of Manuscript [1] about 1000

[*The oaths taken by Louis the German and by the followers of Charles the Bald at Strasburg in 842, the occasion being the forming of an alliance against Lothair We have omitted the corresponding German oaths taken by Charles the Bald and by the followers of Louis the German*]

Lodhuvicus, quoniam major natu erat, prior haec deinde se servaturum testatus est

'Pro Deo amur et pro christian poblo et nostro commun salvament, d'ist di in avant, in quant Deus savir et podir me dunat, si salvarai eo cist meon fradre Karlo et in ajudha et in cadhuna cosa, si cum om per dreit son fradra salvar dift, in o quid il mi altresi fazet, et ab Ludher nul plaid nunquam prindrai qui, meon vol, cist meon fradre Karle in damno sit'

TRANSLATION For the love of God and the salvation of the Christian people and our common salvation, from this day forward, in so far as God grants me knowledge and power, I will succour this my brother Charles in aid and in every thing, as one ought by right to succour one's brother, provided that he does likewise by me, and I will never undertake any engagement with Lothair which, by my consent, may be of harm to this my brother Charles

[1] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat 9768, fol 13

Sacramentum autem quod utrorumque populus quique propria lingua testatus est, romana lingua sic se habet

'Si Lodhuvigs sagrament, que son fradre Karlo jurat, conservat, et Karlus meos sendra de suo part lo fraint, si io returnar non l'int pois, ne io ne neuls cui eo returnar int pois, in nulla ajudha contra Lodhuwig nun li iv er'

NOTES 12 *lo fraint*] MS *n̄ lostant*, which has been variously interpreted 14 *iv* (< IBI) = Mod F *y*, cf *int* (< INDE) = Mod F *en* For notes on the orthography, see § 152

If Louis keeps the oath which he swore to his brother Charles and Charles my master, for his part, breaks it, if I cannot deter him therefrom, neither I nor anyone else whom I can deter from it will be of any assistance to him against Louis

II *SEQUENCE OF SAINT EULALIA*

Date of Composition about 880 Date of Manuscript [1] before 900

[*The poet has imitated very closely the form of a Latin Sequentia Eulalia was a Spanish saint of Merida, who died a martyr's death under Maximian*]

Buona pulcella fut Eulalia,
Bel auret corps, bellezour anima
Voldrent la veintre li Deo inimi,
Voldrent la faire diaule servir
Elle no'nt eskoltet les mals conselliers,
Qu'elle Deo raneiet, chi maent sus en ciel,
Ne por or ned argent ne paramenz,
Por manatce regiel ne preiement,
Niule cose non la pouret omque pleier
La polle sempre non amast lo Deo menestier

NOTES The poem was composed in the Picard-Walloon area (probably at St Amand-les-Eaux) and shows the following characteristic dialectal forms 4 *diaule*, 6 *raneiet* (< RENEGET), 13 *lei* (< *ILLAEI), 13 *chielt* (§ 153), 20 *vost* (< COXIT), 23 *kose* (< CAUSA), 24 *seule* (< SAECULUM), 27 *auuisset* (< HABUISSET), 19 *lo* perhaps for Picard *le* (< ILLAM) Cf §§ 153, 496

10 Paratactic structure, the subjunctive (*amast*) alone indicating that the clause is virtually dependent upon *pleier* Cf §§ 395, 482

TRANSLATION A virtuous maiden was Eulalia, fair was her body and fairer yet her soul The enemies of God would fain have vanquished her, would make her serve the Evil One But she heeds not the wicked counsellors, counselling her to renounce God who dwells on high, nay not for gold or silver or fine apparel nor a king's threats or pleading Nothing could ever bend her from steadfast love for the service of her

[1] Valenciennes, 143, fol 141

E por o fut presentede Maximmen,
Chi rex eret a cels dis soure pagiens
Il li enortet, dont lei nonque chielt,
Qued elle fuiet lo nom christuien.
Ell' ent adunet lo suon element,
Melz sostendreiet les empedementz
Qu'elle perdesse sa virgimitét,
Por os furet morte a grand honestét.
Enz enl fou lo getterent com arde tost,
Elle colpes non auret, por o nos coist
A czo nos voldret concreidre li rex pagiens,
Ad une spede li roveret tolir lo chieef.
La domnizelle celle kose non contredist
Volt lo seule lazsier, si ruovet Krist,
In figure de colomb volat a ciel
Tuit oram que por nos degnet preier
Qued auuisset de nos Christus mercit
Post la mort et a lui nos laist venir
Par souue clementia

13 *chielt* (< CALET) 'it matters', 'it concerns' 15 An obscure line, usually interpreted 'she gathers together her strength (or resolution)', for a new interpretation, cf John Orr, "Sur un vers de l'"Eulalie'", in *Archivum Romanicum*, XIV, 3 17 *Qu'elle* = *Que qu'elle* 18 *os* = *o* (HOC) + *se*, cf similar cases of enclisis 19 *enl* = *en* + *le*, 20 and 21 *nos* = *non* + *se*

The use of the pluperfect indicative as a preterite is noteworthy *auret* (HABUERAT) 2, 20, *voldret* (VOLUERAT) 21, *pouret* 9, *furet* 18, *roveret* 22 Cf § 436

Lord For this she was brought before Maximian, who in those days ruled over the pagans He exhorts her (but little does it reck her) to flee the name of Christian It does but make her summon up her strength rather would she bear with persecution than that she should lose her virgin innocence For this she died with great honour They cast her into the flames, there to consume quickly There was no sin in her, therefore she went unscathed To this the pagan king would not submit, with a sword he ordered her head to be cut off The maiden did not resist this thing, she wished to leave the world, and so she calls upon Christ In the semblance of a dove she flew toward Heaven Let us all pray that she may deign to pray for us to Christ, that He may have mercy upon us when we die, and that He may by His Grace let us come to Him

III *LIFE OF SAINT ALEXIS*[1]

Date of Composition 11th century Date of Manuscript about 1150

[*The poet followed a tenth-century Latin version of the very popular legend of Saint Alexis He employed the common ten-syllable lines of the 'chansons de geste', here linked by assonance to form five-line stanzas*]

Bons fut li secles al tens ancïenur,
Quer feit i ert e justise et amur,
S'i ert creance, dunt or(e) n'i at nul prut,
Tut est muez, perdut ad sa colur,
Ja mais n'iert tel cum fut as anceisurs 5

NOTES The poem was composed in the Île de France or in that part of Normandy adjoining it We have reproduced the text of the earliest MS (Hildesheim = L), which was executed in England and shows the peculiarities to be expected of an Anglo-Norman scribe of the twelfth century The majority of the mistakes in declension are certainly not to be ascribed to the poet *tel* 5, *vailant* 8, *ampairét* 10, *un* 13, *bien* (10) and *Eufemïen* (16) might reasonably be attributed to the poet *Tut* (4, 9), although used adverbially, is normally inflected in O F *Filz* (15, etc) is used as an accusative from an early date and may have been so used by the poet The scribe's nationality is further revealed by the following features *e* for *ie* (*secles* 1, 8, 38, *Velz* 9, *ampairét* 10 *melz* 20), *a* for *e* (*Nostra* 12, *tuta, cuntretha* 20, *batesma* 29, *cambra* 31, 46, *cesta* 40, *ela* 46, *dama* 53, *estra* 55, *guardarai* 57), *ai* for *ei* (*ampairét* 10), *o* for *ue* (*voil* 15, *dol* 50, *vols* 56), *il* for *l'* (*muiler* 27), *in* for *n'* (*plainums* 59, *seinur* 60), *pois* for *puis* 42, *frai* for *ferai* 60 *c* for *ch* is not specifically Anglo-Norman (*rices* 14, *cambre* 31, 44, 46)

The spelling *u* for tonic free *o*, while not peculiar to Anglo-Norman, is particularly favoured by Anglo-Norman scribes The spelling *an, am* for countertonic *en, em* is also to be attributed to the scribe (*ansemble* 21, 55, 59, *amfant* 22, 25, *an* 31, 47, 54) The scribe hesitates between *th* and *d* as a spelling for the intervocal dental, which had by the date of this poem been reduced to a spirant and was tending to disappear (*parede* 46, *depredethe* 48, etc), similarly, final *d* beside the more common *t* (*fud* 14, *fut* 13, etc) Cf § 101

TRANSLATION Good was the world in the time of them of old, for there was faith, justice, and love, trust there was too, which now is of small profit It (the world) is quite changed, bereft of its colour, never will it be as in the time of our forefathers In the time of Noah, in the

[1] Editions G Paris, *La Vie de Saint Alexis, texte critique* (Classiques fr du moyen âge), Paris, 1911 M Rosler, *Sankt Alexius* (Rom Übungstexte xv), Halle, 1928 J -M Meunier, *La Vie de Saint Alexis*, Paris, 1933

Al tens Noé et al tens Abraham
Et al David, qui Deus par amat tant,
Bons fut li secles, ja mais n'ert si vailant,
Velz est e frailes, tut s'en vat declinant
Si'st ampairét, tut bien vait remanant

Puis icel tens que Deus nus vint salver,
Nostra anceisur ourent cristïentét,
Si fut un sire de Rome la citét
Rices hom fud, de grant nobilitét,
Pur hoc vus di, d'un son filz voil parler

Eufemien—si out a(n) num li pedre—
Cons fut de Rome, des melz ki dunc i ere[n]t,
Sur tuz ses pers l'amat li emperere
Dunc prist muiler vailante et honurede,
Des melz gentils de tuta la cuntretha

Puis converserent ansemble longament,
N'ourent amfant, peiset lur en forment,
E Deu apelent andui parfitement
'E' Reis celeste, par ton cumandement
Amfant nus done ki seit a tun talent'

Tant li prierent par grant humilitét
Que la muiler dunat fecunditét

9 For *vat declinant* the scribe, influenced by the following line, wrote *vat remanant* 22 For *N'ourent amfant* the other MSS have *Qued amfant n'ourent*, which is to be interpreted as a consecutive clause 'They lived together for a long time without having any children, this grieves them sorely' Other scribal errors are noted in the text

time of Abraham and in that of David, whom God loved so, the world was good, never again will it be so worthy It is old and frail, quite declining, it has grown worse all good deeds go undone From that time when God came to save us, our forefathers held the Christian faith And there was a noble man of Rome the city, a mighty man was he and of high degree I tell you this for the reason that I would speak of a son of his Eufemian—thus was the father named—was a count of Rome, of the best that then were there, above all his peers the emperor loved him Then he took a wife, worthy and honoured, of the most noble in all the land Then they lived for a long time together, but had no children, this grieves them sorely, and they both fervently call upon God 'O heavenly king, by thy command give us a child that shall be according to thy desire' So much they prayed with great humility that he granted the woman fertility, a son he gives them, and they were

Un filz lur dunet, si l'en sourent bon[t] gret,
De sain[t] batesma l'unt fait regenerer,
Bel num li metent sur la cristïentét
(1–30)

Quant an la cambra furent tut sul remés,
Danz Alexis la prist ad apeler
La mortel vithe li prist mult a blasmer,
De la celeste li mostret verität,
Mais lui est tart quet il s'en seit turnét

'Oz mei, pulcele! Celui tien ad espus
Ki nus raens[t] de sun sanc precius!
An ices[t] secle nen at parfit amor,
La vithe est fraisle, n'i ad durable honur,
Cesta lethece revert a grant tristur'

Quant sa raisun li ad tute mustrethe,
Pois li cumandet les renges de s'espethe
Et un anel, a Deu l(i) ad comandethe
Dunc en eissit de la cambre sum pedre,
Ensur[e] nuit s'en fuit de la contrethe
(61–75)

'Cambra,' dist ela, 'ja mais n'estras parede,
Ne ja ledece n'ert an tei demenede'
Si l'at destruite cum(dis) l'ait host depredethe,
Sas i fait pendre, curtines deramedes,
Sa grant honur a grant dol ad (a)turnede

Del duel s'asist la medre jus(que) a terre,
Si fist la spuse danz Alexis a certes

---

grateful to him for this With holy baptism they made him to be regenerate, a fair name they lay upon him according to the Christian law When they were left all alone in the chamber, sir Alexis began to upbraid her, greatly did he begin to condemn this earthly life, and shows her the truth of the heavenly, but he is impatient to be gone 'Hear me, maiden! Take him to spouse who redeemed us with his precious blood In this world there is no perfect love life is frail, there is no lasting honour, this joy turns to great sorrow' When he has told her his whole mind, then he commits to her the baldric of his sword and a ring, he commends her to God Then he went forth from the chamber of his father During the night he flees from the country 'Chamber!' said she, 'nevermore wilt thou be adorned, nor shall joy be displayed in thee!' And so she destroyed it as though an army had pillaged it, sacks and torn curtains she has hung in it, she has turned its great splendour to great mourning With grief the mother sat down upon the ground, and so in truth did the wife of sir Alexis 'Lady,' said she, 'I have suffered such a great loss

'Dama,' dist ele, 'jo i ai si grant perte,
Ore vivrai an guise de turtrele
Quant n'ai tun filz, ansembl' ot tei voil estra '
Ço di[st] la medre 'S(e) a mei te vols tenir,
Sit guardarai pur amur Alexis,
Ja n'avras mal dunt te puisse guarir.
Plainums ansemble le doel de nostre ami,
Tu (de) tun seinur, jol f[e]rai pur mun filz '
(141–155)

Henceforth I shall live in the manner of a turtle-dove since I have not thy son, I would remain together with thee ' Thus spake the mother 'If thou wouldst remain with me, I will keep thee for love of Alexis Thou shalt never have ill from which I can protect thee Let us mourn together the loss of our dear one, thou thy lord, and I shall do likewise for my son '

IV *LA CHANSON DE ROLAND*[1]

Date of Composition about 1100 Date of Manuscript about 1140

Li empereres se fait e balz e liez
Cordres ad prise et les murs peceiez,
Od ses cadables les turs en abatiéd,
Mult grant eschech en unt si chevaler
D'or e d'argent e de guarnemenz chers
En la citét nen ad remés paien
Ne seit ocis u devient chrestien
Li empereres est en un grant verger,
Ensembl' od lui Rollant e Oliver,
Sansun li dux e Anseis li fiers,
Gefreid d'Anjou, le rei gunfanuner,
E si i furent e Gerin e Gerers,
La u cist furent, des altres i out bien,
De dulce France i ad quinze milliers
Sur palies blancs siedent cil cevaler,
As tables juent pur els esbaneier,
E as eschecs li plus saive e li veill,
E escremissent cil bacheler leger
Desuz un pin, delez un eglenter,
Un faldestoed i unt fait tut d'or mer,
La siét li reis ki dulce France tient

[1] Editions T A Jenkins, *La Chanson de Roland*, New York, 1924 J Bédier, *La Chanson de Roland*, Paris, I (Text and Translation), 1922, II (Commentary and Glossary), 1927

Blanche ad la barbe e tut flurit le chéf,
Gent ad le cors e le cuntenant fier,
S'est kil demandet, ne l'estoet enseigner
E li message descendirent a pied,
Sil saluerent par amur e par bien
(96–121)
Li empereres en tint sun chef enclin,
De sa parole ne fut mie hastifs,
Sa custume est qu'il parole(t) a leisir
Quant se redrecet, mult par out fier lu vis
Dist as messages 'Vus avez mult ben dit,
Li reis Marsilies est mult mis enemis
De cez paroles que vos avez ci dit,
En quel mesure en purrai estre fiz?'
'Voet par hostages,' ço dist li Sarrazins,
'Dunt vos avrez u dis u quinze u vint
Pa[r] nun d(e) ocire i metrai un mien filz,
E si'n avrez, ço quid, de plus gentilz
Quant vus serez el palais seignurill,
A la grant feste seint Michel del Peril,
Mis avoez la vos sivrat, ço dit,
Enz en voz bainz, que Deus pur vos i fist,
La vuldrat il chrestiens devenir'
Charles respunt 'Uncor(e) purrat guarir' Aoi
(139–156)

NOTES The poem was probably composed in that part of Normandy which adjoins the Île de France The manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 23) is the work of an Anglo-Norman scribe, as can be seen from various dialectal features (cf No III, Notes) *e* for *ie* (*chevaler* 4, 15, 47, *chers* 5, *chef* 22, 27, 89, *ben* 31, *Oliver* 60, *melz* 66, *culcét* 88, etc), *murra* for *murrai* 61, *oi* for *ui* (*oi* 56, *pois* 58, *noit* 87, 90), *u* for *o* (cf No III and § 155) Of the numerous mistakes in declension the majority are to be attributed to the scribe (*chrestien* 7 (cf l 43), *gunfanuner* 11, *repairét* 63, *paiens* 69, *chevaler* 71, *Francs* 78, *culcét* 88, *nasfrét* 96, *dunét* 100, *baruns* 101), others might possibly be ascribed to the poet, although when he wrote the two-case system was still well maintained on the Continent (proper names *Sansun* 10, *Gerin* 12, *Oliver* 9, *Rollant* 9, etc , the Learned forms *arcevesque* 70, *monie* 75, and after *cum* 47, 64) Analogical *s* (*empereres* 1, etc , *cumpainz* 62), *descendirent* for *descendierent* 25 (cf § 343), may also be due to the poet *c* for *ch* is not specifically Anglo-Norman (*cadables* 3, *cevaler* 15 (cf *chevaler* 4), *Carlon* 53, *culcét* 88, *cascun* 94, *Carles* 97)

23 *e le c*] MS *e la cuntenance* 24 *kil* = *ki* + *le*, similarly *sil* = *si* (SIC) + *le* 26, *nes* = *ne* + *les* 77, 103, = *ne* + *se* 90, *nel* = *ne* + *le* (cf § 139) 37 *Par nun* (= *nom*) *de* 'by the name of', whence 'in token of', 'postulating', 'at the risk of' 38 *si'n* = *si* (SIC) + *en*, *quid* < COGITO

Rollânt reguardet es munz e es lariz,
De cels de France i veit tanz morz gesir,
E il les pluret cum chevaler gentill
'Seignors barons, de vos ait Deus mercit,
Tutes voz ames otreit il pareis,
En seintes flurs il les facet gesir!
Meillors vassals de vos unkes ne vi
Si lungement tuz tens m'avez servit,
A oés Carlon si granz pais cunquis,
Li empereres tant mare vos nurrit!
Tere de France, mult estes dulz païs,
Oi desertét a tant ruboste exill!
Barons franceis, pur mei vos vei murir,
Jo ne vos pois tenser ne guarantir,
Ait vos Deus ki unkes ne mentit!
Oliver frere, vos ne dei jo faillir,
De doel murra[i], s(e) altre ne m'i ocit
Sire cumpainz, alum i referir'

Li quens Rollant el champ est repairét,
Tient Durendal, cume vassal i fiert,
Faldrun de Pui i ad par mi trenchét,
E xxiiii de tuz les melz preisez,
Ja mais n'iert home, plus se voeillet venger
Si cum li cerfs s'en vait devant les chiens,
Devant Rollant si s'en fuient paiens
Dist l'arcevesque 'Asez le faites ben
Itel valor deit aveir chevaler
Ki armes portet e en bon cheval set,
En bataille deit estre forz e fiers,
U altrement ne valt iiii deners,
Einz deit monie estre en un de cez mustiers,
Si prierat tuz jurz por noz peccez'
Respunt Rollant 'Ferez, nes espar(i)gnez!'
A icest mot l'unt Francs recumencét
Mult grant damage i out de chrestïens
(1851–1885)
Li emperere ad prise sa herberge,
Franceis descendent en la tere deserte,
A lur chevals unt toleites les seles,

53 *oés* (<OPUS) 'need', 'use' 54 *mare* (<MALA HORA) 'in an evil hour', 'ill-fated', 'in vain'. 56 MS *rubostl* 73 An imperfect line from the metrical point of view, read *E en bataille* (?), which would give a correct cæsura 83 *e* may be a scribal lapse for *ẽ* (=*en*)

Les freins a or, e metent jus les testes,
Livrent lur prez, asez i ad fresche herbe,
D'altre cunreid ne lur poeent plus faire
Ki mult est las, il se dort cuntre tere,
Icele noit n'unt unkes escalguaite
Li emperere s'est culcét en un pret,
Sun grant espiét met a sun chef li ber,
Icele noit ne s(e) volt il desarmer,
Si ad vestut sun blanc osberc saffrét
Laciét sun elme ki est a or gemmét,
Ceinte Joiuse, unches ne fut sa per,
Ki cascun jur muet xxx clartez
Asez savum de la lance parler
Dunt nostre Sire fut en la cruiz nasfrét
Carles en ad la mure, mercit Deu,
En l'orét punt l'ad faite manuvrer
Pur ceste honur e pur ceste bontét
Li nums Joiuse l'espee fut dunét
Baruns franceis nel deivent ublier,
Enseigne en unt de Munjoie crier,
Pur ço nes poet nule gent cuntrester

(2488–2511)

V *LE MYSTÈRE D'ADAM*[1]

Date of Composition about 1150 Date of Manuscript 12th–13th century

[DIABOLUS] Eva, ça sui venuz a toi
E[VA] Di moi, sathan, e tu pur quoi?
D[IABOLUS] Jo vois querant tun pru, t(un) honor
E Ço dunge Deu!
D N'aiez pour!
Mult a grant tens que j(o) ai apris
Toz les conseils de paraïs!

NOTES The play was probably composed in England, as one would conclude from the rime *p u* (*criator dur* 27, 28) which is an Anglo-Norman trait The single manuscript (belonging to the Municipal Library of Tours) presents a large number of Anglo-Normanisms, but

TRANSLATION

Here have I come, fair Eve, to speak with thee
— And tell me, Satan, pray, why hast thou come?
— I do but seek thy profit and thy honour
— God grant that it be so! — Pray, have no fear!
Long since have I learnt Eden's secrets all!

[1] Edition P Studer, *Le Mystère d'Adam*, Manchester, 1918

Une partie t'en dirrai
E Or(e) le comence, e jo l'orrai
D Orras me tu?
E Si f[e]rai bien,
Ne te cur[e]cerai de rien
D Celeras m'en?
E Oil, par foi
D Iert descovert!
E Nenil par moi
D Or me mettrai en ta creance,
Ne voil de toi altre fiance
E Bien te pois creire, a ta parole!
D Tu as esté en bone escole,
Jo vi Adam, mais trop est fols
E Un poi est durs
D Il serra mols!
Il est plus dors que n'est emfers
E Il est mult francs
D Ainz est mult sers
Cure n'en voelt prendre de soi,
Car la prenge sevals de toi.
Tu es fieblette e tendre chose,

owing to the presence of a number of Provençal forms it is assumed to have been copied by a Provençal scribe from an Anglo-Norman manuscript In our extract the following Anglo-Normanisms are to be noted Confusion of *ρ* and *u* (*dors* 19, cf *dur* 28), of *oi* and *ui* (*poi* 15), *frai* 9, *curcerai* 10, the writing of double consonants for single (*dirrai* 7, 35,

---

A part thereof I'd now divulge to thee
— Go to, thy tale begin, and I will hear
— Wilt thou hear me? — That will I, verily,
Nor will I anger thee in any wise
— My secret wilt thou keep? — I will, forsooth
— 'Twill be revealed! — Nay, Satan, not by me
— Then will I place myself in thy safe-keeping,
No other surety do I ask of thee
— And I, well may I believe thee, on thy word
— Now dost thou show how well thou hast been schooled,
I saw Adam, but he's, alas, a fool
— He's somewhat harsh — Fear not, he'll soon be soft!
But now he's harsher even than Hell itself
— Yet is he noble — Nay, rather is he servile
For not a thought will he take for himself,
Let him at least take thought for thee, his mate
For thou art a fair and tender thing, sweet Eve,

E es plus fresche que n'est rose,
Tu es plus blanche que cristal,
Que neif que chiet sor glace en val,
Mal cuple em fist li criator
Tu es trop tendre e il trop dur,
Mais neporquant tu es plus sage,
En grant sens as mis tun corrage
Por ço fait bon traire a toi,
Parler te voil
E Ore i ait fai!
D N'en sache nuls!
E Ki l(e) deit saver?
D Neïs Adam.
E Nenil, par veir
D Or te dirrai, et tu m'ascute!
N'a que nus dous en ceste rote,
E Adam la, qu'il ne nus ot
E Parlez en halt, n'en savrat mo(l)t
D. Jo vus acoint d'un grant engin,

serra 18, *corrage* 30) and single for double (*seusez* 53), mistakes in declension (*Deu* 4, *dur* 28, *que* for *qui* 26, 40, *tuit* for *tut* 54), confusion of 2nd sing and 2nd pl (51–54), fondness for subjunctive forms in *-ge* (*dunge* 4, *prenge* 22) Most of these features were doubtless shared by scribe and poet, but it is noteworthy that the poem presents no rimes of *ei* with *oi*, *ai*, or *ei*, although the scribe freely writes *oi*, *ai*, *e* for *ei* (*toi* 1, *quoi* 2, etc , *fai* 32, *saver* 33, 47)

The following MS readings have been rejected 20 *serf* for *sers*, 27 *culpe* for *cuple*, 34 *par moi* for *par veir*

Thou art fresher far than any new-blown rose,
Whiter than crystal, yes, and than the snow
That falls upon the ice a-down the vale
An ill-assorted couple God made here
Thou art too tender, Adam is too harsh,
And ne'ertheless thou art the wiser far,
Thy mind thou hast set upon things sensible
Therefore 'tis pleasant to draw nigh to thee,
With thee I'd speak — 'Tis well, let there be trust!
— Let none know of it! — And who shall know, I pray?
— Not Adam even — Nay, nay, forsooth, not he!
— And now will I tell thee, do thou hear me!
Alone we are, we twain, to keep this tryst,
And Adam there, who hears not what we say
— Speak out, Satan, no word he'll hear, I wot
— 'Tis of a vile deceit I would acquaint you,

Que vus est fait en cest gardin
Le fruit que Deus vus ad doné,
Nen a en soi gaires bonté,
Cil qu'il vus ad tant defendu,
Il ad en soi [mult] grant vertu,
En celui est grace de vie,
De poesté, (e) de seignorie,
De tut saver, [e] bien e mal
E Quel savor a?
D Celestïal
A ton bel(s) cors, a ta figure,
Bien covendreit tel aventure,
Que tu fusses dame del mond,
Del soverain e del parfont,
E seusez quanque a estre,
Que de[l] tuit fuissez bone maistre

(205–258)

With which you have been servèd in this garden
The fruit which God has given unto you
Has in it wondrous little virtue, yet
The fruit which he has told you is forbidden,
That has in it all the grace of life,
Of worldly power, and of over-lordship,
The knowledge of all things, both good and evil
— Pray, tell me of its savour — 'Tis divine!
Well would this destiny become thy form,
Thy body fair, that thou shouldst ever be
The queen of all the world, both high and low,
Shouldst know all that which is, and be, in fine,
The true mistress

VI CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES *EREC ET ENIDE*

Date of Composition 1160–1170 Edition W Foerster (1909)

[*Erec, driven forth by the reproaches of his wife Enide, emerges sorely wounded from the last of his knightly adventures*]

Erec tote voie ne fine
De chevauchier a grant esploit
La ou Enide l'atandoit,
Qui mout an avoit grant duel fet,
Et cuidoit bien tot antreset,
Qu'il l'eust guerpie del tot
Et cil restoit an grant redot,

Qu'aucuns ne l'an eust menee,
Qui la l'eust sole trovee,
Si se hastoit mout del retor
Mes la chalors qu'il ot le jor,
Et les armes tant li greverent,
Que les plaies li escreverent
Et totes les bandes tranchierent
Onques ses plaies n'estanchierent
Tant que il vint au leu tot droit
La ou Enide l'atandoit
Cele le vit, grant joie an ot,
Mes ele n'aparçut ne sot
La dolor, dont il se pleignoit,
Que toz ses cors an sanc beignoit
Et li cuers faillant li aloit
A un tertre qu'il avaloit,
Chei tot a un fes a val
Jusque sor le col del cheval
Si come il relever cuida,
La sele et les estriers vuida,
Et chiet pasmez con s'il fust morz
Lors comança li diaus si forz,
Quant Enide cheoir le vit
Mout li poise, quant ele vit,
Et cort vers lui si come cele
Qui sa dolor mie ne cele

NOTES Chrétien was a native of East Champagne, and his language shows a number of dialectal traits[1] In *Erec et Enide* these are more numerous than in his later works, the language of which approximates more and more to Central French The language of the scribe (Guiot) corresponds very closely with that of Chrétien The following features are to be noted *ā* (<*ĕ*) is denoted phonetically by *an*, *am* (*atandoit* 3, *an* 4, etc , *andemantiers* 70, *fame* 84, *an* (=*en* for *on*) 109) Tonic *ai* (=*ę*) appears as *e* before a final consonant (*fet* 4, etc , *fes* 24, *et* 58, *sohet* 65, *tret* 66, also *trest* 111), but as *ei* in *atreire* 110, *feire* 109, 131 Pre-tonic *ai* (=*ę*) appears as *ei* (*eidier* 59, *soheidier* 60, *reison* 63, cf also *pleignoit* 20, *beignoit* 21) *ęl* and *uel* followed by a consonant appear as *iau* (*biaus* 39, *biautez* 97, *viaut* 59, *diaus* 29, cf *duel* 86) Note also *aus* = *eus* (ILLOS) 138 and *leu* = *lieu* (LOCUM) 16 *aī* and *eī* rime (l 61), when tonic, both are written *ai* (*plains* 69, *painne* 124, *daingne* 55, *çainte* 62), when pre-tonic, *ei* (*pleignoit* 20) For *porroiz* 93, see § 323, for *vost* 76, see § 356, for *chalors* 11, see § 178

5 *antreset* (<IN TRANSACTUM) 'assuredly' 24 *a un fes* 'all of a heap'

[1] A full account of Chrétien's language will be found in Foerster-Breuer, *Kristian v Troyes Wörterbuch*, 1st ed , pp 210–23

An haut s'escrie et tort ses poinz,
De robe n'i remest uns poinz
Devant son piz a descirer
Ses crins comance a deturer,
Et sa tandre face descire
'Ha! Deus!' fet ele, 'biaus douz sire,
Por quoi me leisses tu tant vivre?
Morz! car m'oci, si t'an delivre!'
A cest mot sor le cors se pasme
Quant ele revint, si se blasme
'Ha!' fet ele, 'dolante Enide,
De mon seignor sui omecide,
Par ma parole l'ai ocis
Ancor fust or mes sire vis,
Se je come outrageuse et fole
N'eusse dite la parole,
Por quoi mes sire ça s'esmut'

(4580–4629)

'Deus! que ferai? Por quoi vif tant?
Morz que demore et que atant,
Que ne me prant sanz nul respit?
Trop m'a la morz an grant despit!
Quant ele ocirre ne me daingne,
Moi meisme estuet que je praingne
La vanjance de mon forfet
Einsi morrai, mal gre an et
La morz qui ne me viaut eidier
Ne puis morir por soheidier,
Ne rien ne m'i vaudroit conplainte
L'espee, que mes sire a çainte,
Doit par reison sa mort vangier
Ja n'an serai mes an dangier
N'an proiere ne an sohet'
L'espee fors del fuerre tret,
Si la comance a regarder
Deus la fist un po retarder,
Qui plains est de misericorde
Andemantiers qu'ele recorde
Son duel et sa mesavanture,
A tant ez vos grant aleure
Un conte a grant chevalerie,

60 *soheidier* = Mod F *souhaiter* 66 *fuerre* 'scabbard' 70 *Andemantiers que* 'while', cf § 471

Qui de mout loing avoit oie
La dame a haute voiz crier
Deus ne la vost mie oblier
Que maintenant se fust ocise,
Se cil ne l'eussent sozprise,
Qui tolue li ont l'espee
Et arriere el fuerre botee
Puis desçandi li cuens a terre,
Si li comança a anquerre
Del chevalier, qu'ele li die,
S'ele estoit sa fame ou s'amie
'L'un et l'autre,' fet ele, 'sire!
Tel duel ai, ne vos puis plus dire
Moi poise que je ne sui morte'
Et li cuens mout la reconforte
'Dame!' fet il, 'por Deu vos pri,
De vos meisme aiez merci!
Bien est reisons que duel aiez,
Mes por neant vos esmaiiez;
Qu'ancor porroiz assez valoir.
Ne vos metez an nonchaloir,
Confortez vos! ce sera sans,
Deus vos fera liee par tans
Vostre biautez, qui tant est fine,
Buene avanture vos destine,
Que je vos recevrai a fame,
De vos ferai contesse et dame
Ce vos doit mout reconforter,
Et j'an ferai le cors porter,
S'iert mis an terre a grant enor
Leissiez ester ceste dolor,
Que folemant vos deduiiez'
Cele respont 'Sire! fuiez!
Por Deu merci, leissiez m'ester!
Ne poez ci rien conquester
Riens qu'an porroit dire ne feire,
Ne me porroit a joie atreire'
A tant se trest li cuens arriere,
Et dist 'Feisons tost une biere,
Sor quoi cest cors an porterons,
Et avuec la dame an manrons
Tot droit au chastel de Limors,

96 *liee* (<LAETA), cf 121 *liez* (<LAETUS) 105 *vos deduiiez*, 2nd pl pres ind of *se déduire* 'to behave', usually 'to amuse oneself'

La iert an terre mis li cors.
Puis voudrai la dame esposer,
Mes que bien li doie peser,
Qu'onques mes tant bele ne vi
Ne nule tant n'an ancovi
Mout sui liez, quant trovee l'ai
Or faisons tost et sanz delai
Une biere chevaleresce,
Ne vos soit painne ne peresce!'
Li auquant traient les espees,
Tost orent deus perches copees
Et bastons liez a travers
Erec ont sus couchié anvers,
S'i ont deus chevaus atelez
Enide chevauche delez,
Qui de son duel feire ne fine,
Sovant se pasme et chiet sovine,
Mes li chevalier pres la tienent,
Qui antre lor braz la soztienent,
Si la relievent et confortent
Jusqu'a Limors le cors an portent
Et vienent el palés le conte
Toz li pueples aprés aus monte,
Dames, chevalier et borjois.
Anmi la sale sor un dois
Ont le cors mis tot estandu,
Lez lui sa lance et son escu

(4655–4746)

118 *Mes que* 'although', 'however much' 120 *ancovi*, 1st sing pret of *ancovir* (<*INCUPIRE) 'to desire' 140 *dois* (<DISCUM) 'dais', 'table', 'high table'

VII MARIE DE FRANCE *FABLES*

Date of Composition last quarter of 12th century
Edition Warnke (*Bibl Norm* VI)

(*a*) *De Lupo et Agno* (II)

Ci dit del lou e de l'aignel,
Ki beveient a un duitel
Li lous en la surse beveit,
E li aignels a val esteit
Ireement parla li lous,

Ki mult esteit cuntrarious,
Par maltalent parla a lui
'Tu me fes,' dist il, 'grant ennui'
Li aignelez a respundu
'Sire, de quei?'—'Dunc ne veiz tu?
Tu m'as ceste ewe trublee,
N'en puis beivre ma saulee
Altresi m'en irai, ceo crei,
Cum jeo vinc ça, murant de sei'
Li aignelez dunc li respunt
'Sire, ja bevez vus a munt!
De vus me vint ceo qu'ai beu'
'Quei!' fet li lous, 'maldiz me tu?'
Cil li a dit 'N'en ai voleir'
Li lous respunt 'J'en sai le veir
Cest meismes me fist tis pere
A ceste surse, u od lui ere,
Ore a sis meis, si cum jeo crei'
'Que retez ceo,' fet il, 'a mei?
Ne fui pas nez, si cum jeo quit'
'E quei pur ceo?' li lous a dit,
'Ja me fez tu ore cuntraire
E chose que tu ne deis faire'
Dunc prist li lous l'aignel petit,
As denz l'estrangle, si l'ocit

Ço funt li riche robeur,
Li vescunte e li jugeur
De cels qu'il unt en lur justise
False achaisun par coveitise
Truevent asez pur els confundre,
Suvent les funt a plait somundre
La char lur tolent e la pel,
Si cum li lous fist a l'aignel

NOTES Marie de France was a native of France, but wrote in England, where the best[1] of the twenty-three manuscripts of her *Fables* and all the manuscripts of her *Lais* were executed She tells us that her Fables are translated from an English version (in its turn translated from the Latin) by a certain Alfred, whom she identifies with Alfred the Great

(*a*) 2 *duitel* 'brook' 12 *ma saulee* 'my fill' 24 'Why do you blame that on me?' 25 *quit* < COGITO 27 *cuntraire* 'offence' 34 *achaisun* 'accusation' 37 *tolent*, 3rd pl pres ind of *tolir* 'to take away'

[1] London, British Museum, Harley 978, fols 40 a–67 b

(*b*) *De formica et cicada* (XXXIX)

D'un criket cunte la maniere,
Ki desqu'a une furmiere
El tens d'yver esteit alez
Par aventure est enz entrez
Viande demanda e quist,
Kar n'en aveit nient, ceo dist,
En sa maisun n'en sun recét
Dist li furmis 'Qu'as tu dunc fet,
Quant tu deusses guaaignier
E en aust tei purchacier?'
'Jeo chantai,' fet il, 'e deduis
A altres bestes, mes ne truis
Ki me vueille guereduner
Pur ceo m'estuet issi aler'
Dist li furmis 'Chante ore a mei!
Par cele fei que jeo te dei,
Mielz fust que tu te purchaçasses
El meis d'aust e guaaignasses,
Que tu fusses de freit muranz
A mun us viande queranz!
Pur quei te durreie a mangier,
Quant tu a mei ne puez aidier?'

Pur ceo defent que nuls ne vive
En nunchaleir ne en oisdive
Sulunc ceo que chescuns deit faire
Se deit pener de bien atraire,
Plus en est chiers s'il a que prendre,
Que s'a altrui se deit atendre

(*b*) 7 *recét* 'dwelling' 10 *tei purchacier* 'to make provision for yourself' 11 *deduis*, 1st sing pret (cf § 354) of *deduire* 'to play' 12 *truis*, 1st sing pres ind of *trover*, cf § 326 14 *estuet* 'it is necessary', cf § 392 20 *us* (= *huis*) 'door' 24 *oisdive* 'idleness'

VIII *CHANSON DE TOILE*

Date of Composition 12th century Date of Manuscript [1] 1250–1300

Quant vient en mai, que l'on dit as lons jors,
Que Franc de France repairent de roi cort,
Reynauz repaire devant el premier front,
Si s'en passa lez lo meis Arembor,
Ainz n'en dengna le chief drecier amont
E! Raynaut amis!

Bele Erembors a la fenestre au jor
Sor ses genolz tient paile de color,
Voit Frans de France qui repairent de cort,
E voit Raynaut devant, el premier front,
En haut parole, si a dit sa raison
E! Raynaut amis!

'Amis Raynaut, j'ai ja veu cel jor,
Se passisoiz selon mon pere tor,
Dolanz fussiez, se ne parlasse a vos'
'Jal mesfaistes, fille d'empereor,
Autrui amastes, si oblïastes nos'
E! Raynaut amis!

16 *Jel*, the MS reading, has been corrected to *jal* (=*ja* + *le*)

TRANSLATION

When comes the month of May and days grow long,
The men of France return from court of king,
Raynaut returns, the first, well in the van,
He passes by the house of Erembor,
And never does he deign to raise his eyes
Ah! Raynaut dear!

Fair Erembor sits by the window bright,
A coloured silk is spread upon her knee,
She sees the men of France return from court,
Raynaut she spies, the first, well in the van,
Aloud she speaks, and this is what she says
Ah! Raynaut dear!

'Dear Raynaut, well do I recall the day
When, passing by my father's tower, thou
Didst sigh with grief if I spake not with thee'
''Tis thou hast wronged me, daughter of a king
Another didst thou love, forgetting me'
Ah! Raynaut dear!

[1] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr 20050, fol 69

'Sire Raynaut, je m'en escondirai
A cent puceles sor sainz vos jurerai,
A trente dames que avuec moi menrai,
C'onques nul home fors vostre cors n'amai
Prennez l'emmende et je vos baiserai'
E! Raynaut amis!

Li cuens Raynaut en monta lo degré,
Gros par espaules, greles par lo baudré,
Blonde ot lo poil, menu recercelé
En nule terre n'ot si biau bacheler
Voit l'Erembors, si comence a plorer
E! Raynaut amis!

Li cuens Raynaut est montez en la tor,
Si s'est assis en un lit point a flors,
Dejoste lui se siet bele Erembors
Lors recomence[nt] lor premieres amors
E! Raynaut amis!

'Sir Raynaut, do but let me plead my cause
Before an hundred maidens will I swear,
And thirty dames whom I shall bring with me,
By all the saints, that none I loved save thee,
Accept this reparation and my kiss'
Ah! Raynaut dear!

Then quickly doth count Raynaut mount the stair,
So broad of shoulder, slim of waist is he,
So fair his hair, waving with many a curl
No fairer knight was there in all the world,
At sight of him she may not stay her tears
Ah! Raynaut dear!

Count Raynaut speedily ascends the tower,
Upon a couch broidered with flowers he sits,
Beside him sits the lovely Erembor
All is forgiven, their love begins anew
Ah! Raynaut dear!

IX GUILLAUME DE FERRIÈRES, VIDAME DE CHARTRES *CHANSON*

Date of Composition end of 12th century Edition Brakelmann [1]

Combien que j'aie demoré
Hors de ma dolce contree
Et maint grant traval enduré
En terre maleuree,
Por ce n'ai je pas oblié
Le dolz mal qui tant m'agree,
Dont ja ne quier avoir sante,
S'en France ne m'est trovee

Si me doinst Deus joie et santé!
La plus belle qui soit nee
Molt me conforte en sa bialté
Qui si m'est el cuer entree
Et se je muir en cest pensé,
Bien cuit m'ame avoir salvee,
Car m'eust or son liu presté,
Deus! cil qui l'a esposee!

TRANSLATION

Though I have tarried long,
Far from my native strand,
And great travail endured
In an ill-favoured land,
Yet have I not forgot
The sweet-soothing malady
For which I crave no leech,
Unless in France it be

God grant me joy and health!
The fairest of the fair,
Her beauty comforts me
Which in my heart I bear
If with this thought I die,
Methinks my soul is saved,
Ah! would that he were I,
Who holds her wed, enslaved!

[1] Jules Brakelmann, *Les plus anciens chansonniers français*, Marburg, 1896 (p 26) A critical edition of Guillaume de Ferrières' poems is being prepared by J A Noonan

Hé Deus ! trop sui maleurez
Se cele n'ot ma proiere,
A qui je me sui toz donez,
Si ne m'en puis traire arriere
Molt longement me sui celez
Por cele gent malparliere,
Qui ja lor cuers n'auront lassez
De dire mal en derriere !

Ha ! dolce riens, ne m'ociez !
Ne soiez cruels ne fiere
Vers moi qui plus vos aim qu'assez
D'amor leal et entiere
Et se vos por tant m'ociez,
Las ! trop l'achaterai chiere
L'amor, dont trop serai grevez,
Mais or m'est dolce et legiere !

Ill-fated then am I
If she hear not my prayer,
To whom I'm given o'er
Nor can forget this care
Long have I hid my love
For fear of slanderers vile,
Who ne'er desist from spite
To spill their secret bile

Ah ! sweet one, slay me not,
Nor be thou cruel and cold
Toward me who love thee true,
With faithfulness untold
If 'tis thy will I die,
Too dearly must I pay
The love which grieves me so,
And yet 'tis blithe and gay

X VILLEHARDOUIN *CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE*[1]

Date of Composition about 1210 Date of Manuscript 14th century

Lors se partirent del port d'Avie tuit ensemble Si peussiez veoir florir le Braz-Sain-Jorge contremont de nes et de galies et de uissiers, a mult grant mervoille ere la bialtez a regarder

[1] Edition N de Wailly, *Geoffroi de Ville-Hardouin Conquête de Constantinople*, Paris, 1874 (§§ 127–40)

Et ensi corrurent contremont le Braz-Sain-Jorge, tant que il vindrent a Saint-Estiene a une abbaïe qui ere a trois lieues de Costantinople, et lors virent tout a plain Costantinople Cil des nes et des galies et des uissiers pristrent port et aancrerent lor vaissiaus Or poez savoir que mult esgarderent Costantinople cil qui onques mais ne l'avoient veue, que il ne pooient mie cuider que si riche ville peust estre en tot le monde Cum il virent ces halz murs et ces riches tours dont ele [ere] close tot entor a la reonde, et ces riches palais et ces haltez yglises, dont il i avoit *tant* que nuls nel poist croire, se il ne le veist a l'oil, et le lonc et le lé de la ville qui de totes les autres ere soveraine Et sachiez que il n'i ot si hardi cui la car ne fremist, et ce ne fu mie mervoille, que onques si grant affaires ne fu empris de tant de gent puis que li monz fu estorez

Lors descendirent a terre li conte et li baron et li dux de Venise, et fu li parlemenz ou mostier Saint-Estiene La ot maint conseil pris et doné Totes les paroles qui la furent dites ne vos conterai mie li livres Mes la summe del conseil si fu tiels que li dux de Venise se dreça en estant et lor dist 'Seignor, je sai plus del convine de cest païs que vos ne faites, car altre foiz i ai esté Vos avez le plus grant afaire et le plus perillous entrepris que onques genz entrepreissent, por ce si convendroit que on durast sagement Sachiez, se nos alons a la terre ferme, la terre est granz et large, et nostre gent sont povre et diseteus de la viande Si s'espandront par la terre por querre la viande, et ill i a mult grant plenté de la gent el pais, si ne porriens tot garder que nos

NOTES We reproduce without change the text of the excellent Bodleian manuscript (Laud Misc 587, fol 13a, line 11 ff), which has never received the attention it deserves. It dates from the fourteenth century and is probably the work of a Venetian scribe, who took few liberties with his text There is no reason to suppose that the forms and spellings differ markedly from those of Villehardouin, whose language, while approximating to the standard literary language, reflects his Champenois origin (cf the Notes to No VI) Our extract presents the following deviations from standard forms *iau* (*ial*) for *eau* (*eal*) (*vaissiaus* 8, *biax* 56, *chastials* 41, *braltez* 3), *als* for *els* 77, 87 (cf *els* 93), *o* for *eu* or *ue* (*empereor* 53, *planteurose* 64, *oil* 13, *oel* 56), *poist* for *puist* 13, *leus* for *lieus* 54, *liue* for *lieue* 98 (but cf 5, 69), *aust* for *eust* 49, 51, *camps* for *champs* 65, *cevaus* 98 (but cf 61), *iki* for *ici* 33, *haltez* for *haltes* 12, *aront* for *avront* 43 (but cf 36), *conterai* for *contera* 21 (cf No XI, Notes)

2 *nes*, obl pl of *nef* (< NAVEM) 3 *uissiers* (der from *huis*) 'transport ship' 9, 16, 30 *que* causal (cf § 469) 9 *cuider* 'to think', 'to conceive' 14 *lé* 'breadth' 17 *estorez* 'created' 22 *se dreça en estant* 'stood up' 23 *convine* 'condition' 26 *durast* 'that one should bide' 29 *el*] MS *il*, 'and so

n'en perdissiens ' Et nos n'avons mestier de perdre, que mult avons poi de gent a ce que nos volons faire Ill a isles ci pres, que vos poez veoir de ci, qui sont habitees de genz et laborees de blez et de viandes et d'autres biens Alons iki prendre port, et recuillons les blés et les viandes del pais, et quant nos avrons mis les viandes recuillies, alomes devant la ville, et ferons ce que Nostre Sires nos avra porveu Quar plus seurement guerroie cil qui a la viande que cil qui n'en a point ' A cel conseil s'acorderent li conte e li baron, et s'en ralerent tuit a lor nes chascuns et a ses vaissiaus Ens[illegible]repouserent cele nuit Et al maitin (fu le jor de la feste mon seignor sain Johan-Baptiste, en juing) furent dreciés les banieres et li confanon es chastials des nes et les bosches des escuz, et portenduz les bors des nes Chascuns regardoit ses armes tels con a lui convint, que de fi seussent que par tens en aront mestier

Li marinier traistrent les ancres et laissent les voilles al vent aler, et Diex lor done bon vent tel con a els convint Si s'en passent tres par devant Costantinople, si pres des murs et des tours que a maintes de lor nes traist on Si i avoit tant de gent sor les murs et sor les tours que il sembloit que il n'aust se la non Ensi lor bestorna Diex Nostre Sires le conseil qui fu pris le soir de torner es ysles, ausi con se chascuns n'en aust onques oi parler Et maintenant traient a la ferme terre plus droit que onques il puent, et pristrent port devant un palais l'empereor Alexis, dont li leus estoit appellez Calchidoines, et fu endroit Costantinople, d'autre part del Braz, devers la Turchie Cil palais fu uns des plus biax et des plus deletables que onques oel peussent esgarder, de(s) toz les (liz) deliz que il convint a cors d'ome, que en maison de prince doit avoir

Et li conte et li baron descendirent a la terre et se herbergierent el palais et en la ville entor, et li plusor tendirent lor paveillons Lors furent li cheval trait fors des uissiers, et li chevaler et li serjant descen[diren]t a la terre a totes lor armes, si que il ne remest es vaissiaus que li marinier La contree fu bele et riche et planteurose de toz bien, et les moies des blez, qui estoient messoné par mi les camps, tant que chascun en volt prendre, si en prist cum cil qui grant mestier en avoient Ensi sejornerent en cel palais l'endemain Et al tierz jor lor dona Diex bon vent; et marinier resachent lor ancres et drecent lor voilles al vent ensi qu'il s'en vont contreval le Braz, bien une lieue desor Costanti-

we could not help losing some' 30 *mestier* 'need' (cf 44, 66, 80) 41 *confanon* 'standards', *bosches* 'bosses' 43 *de fi* 'assuredly' 49 'that it seemed as though there were nothing else (save people)' 50 *bestorna* 'caused to go awry' 53 *puent*, cf § 321 (*pouvoir*) 64 *moies* 'stacks'

nople, a un palais qui ere l'empereor Alexis, qui ere appellex l'Escutaire Enki se ancreerent les nes et les uissiers et totes les galies

Et la chevalerie qui era erbergié el palais de Calcedonie ala costoiant Costantinople par terre Ensi s'erbergierent sor le Braz-Sain-Jorge a l'Escutaire et contremont l'ost des François Et quant ce vit l'emperere Alexis, si fist la soe ost issir de Costantinople, si se herberja sor l'autre rive, d'autre part, endroit als, si fist tendre ses paveillons por ce que cil ne peussent prendre terre par force sor lui Ensi sejorna l'ost des François par nuef [illegible]z, et porcaça de viande cil que mestier en ot, et ce furent tuit cil de l'ost

Dedenz cel jor issi une compaigne de mult bone gent por garder l'ost que on ne li feist mal, et les foriers (et) cerchierent la contree En cele chompaigne fu Odes li Champenois de Camlite et Guillelmes ses freres et Ogiers de Sain-Cheron et Manassiers de l'Isle et li cuens Cras, uns cuens de Lombardie, qui ert del marchis de Monferrat, et orent bien avec als quatre-vins chevaliers de mult bone gent Et choisierent el pie de la montaigne paveillons bien a trois lieues de l'ost, et ce estoit li megedux l'empereor de Costantinople, qui bien avoit cinc cenz chevaliers de Grius Quant nostre gent les vit, si ordenerent lor gent en quatre batailles, et fu lor consels tiels que iroient combatre a els Et quant li Grieu les virent, si ordenerent lor genz et lor batailles et rengierent par devant les paveillons et les attendirent, et nostre gent les alerent ferir vigueroisement a l'aie de Dieu Nostre Seignor Petiz dura cil estors, et li Grieu lor tornent les dos, si furent desconfis a la premiere assemblee, et li nostre les enchaucent bien une liue grant La gaaignerent assez cevaus et roncins et palefrois, et muls et mules, et tentes et paveillons, et tel gaing con a tel besoigne aferoit Ensi se revindrent en l'ost, ou il furent mult volentiers veus, et departirent lor gaing si con il durent

73 *era* for *ere* (3, 5, etc), cf § 333 83 *foriers* 'foragers' 84 *chompaigne* for *compaigne* (82) 88 *choisierent* 'perceived' 90 *megedux* 'grand-duke' 92 *consels* = *conseus* (cf § 105) 98 *enchaucent* 'pursue' 100 *aferoit* 'was fitting'

XI JOINVILLE *HISTOIRE DE SAINT LOUIS*

Date of Composition 1304–1309 Edition Natalis de Wailly (1906)

187 Il nous couvient premierement parler dou flum qui vient par Egypte et de Paradis terestre, et ces choses vous ramentoif-je pour vous faire entendant aucunes choses qui affierent a ma matiere Cis fleuves est divers de toutes autres rivieres, car quant plus viennent les autres rivieres aval, et plus y chiéent de petites rivieres et de petiz ruissiaus; et en ce flum n'en chiet nulles ainçois avient ainsi que il vient touz en un chanel jusques en Egypte, et lors giete de li sept branches, qui s'espandent parmi Egypte

188 Et quant ce vient aprés la saint-Remy, les sept rivieres s'espandent par le païs et cuevrent les terres pleinnes, et quand elles se retraient, li gaaingnour vont chascuns labourer en sa terre a une charrue sanz rouelles, de quoy il tornent dedans la terre les fourmens, les orges, les comminz, le ris, et viennent si bien que nulz n'i savroit qu'amander Ne ne sait l'on dont celle creue vient, mais que de la volontei Dieu, et se ce n'estoit, nul bien ne venroient ou pais, pour la grant chalour dou soleil qui arderoit tout, pour ce que il ne pluet nulle foiz ou pays Li fluns est touzjours troubles, dont cil dou païs, qui boire en vuelent, vers le soir le prennent, et esquachent quatre amendes ou quatre feves, et l'endemain est si bone a boire que riens n'i faut

189 Avant que li fluns entre en Egypte, les gens qui ont acoustumei a ce faire, gietent lour roys deshiées par mi le flum au soir, et quant ce vient au matin, si treuvent en lour royz cel avoir de poiz que l'on aporte en ceste terre, c'est a savoir gingimbre, rubarbe, lignaloey et canele Et dit l'on que ces choses viennent

NOTES Joinville's native dialect (E Champagne) is revealed in such features as *ei* for *e* (*volontei* 16, *acoustumei* 23, *trouvei* 42, *citei* 60, *teix* 59), *ou* for *eu* (*chalour* 17, *aioul* 64, *lour* 69) Other features of still wider currency in E and N E dialects are *iau* for *eau* (*ruissiaus* 6, *yaue* 30), *-aige* for *-age* (*passaige* 53, *pelerinaige* 86), omission of glide *d* (*venroient* 17, 85, *tenroient* 85), intercalation of *e* (*arderoit* 17, *averoit* 86), *penre* for *prendre* 66, *taillies* for *taillées* 40, *aus* for *eus* 55, *consoil* for *conseil* 58 Other dialectal forms are *Signour* for *Seigneur* 79, *bisson* for *buisson* 90 For *soufferroit* 57 and *mousterrai* 77, see § 336

1 *flum* (< FLUMEN), nom *fluns* 22, 'river' 2 *ramentoif*, 1st pres ind of (*ra*)*mentevoir* (< MENTE HABERE) 'to recall' 3 *affierent* 'pertain' 5 For *chiéent* (also *chiet* 6 and *cheoit* 41), see § 321 12 *gaaingnour* 'husbandmen' 14 *comminz* 'caraway' 20 *esquachent* 'squash' 23 *royz* (RETIS) 'nets' 26 *lignaloey* 'aloe wood'

de Paradis terrestre, que li venz abat des arbres qui sont en Paradis, aussi comme li venz abat en la forest en cest pais le bois sec, et ce qui chiet dou bois sec ou flum, nous vendent li marcheant en ce paiz L'yaue dou flum est de tel nature, que quant nous la pendiens (en poz de terre blans que l'en fait ou pais) aus cordes de nos paveillons, l'yaue devenoit ou chaut dou jour aussi froide comme de fonteinne

190 Il disoient ou pais que li soudans de Babiloine avoit mainte foiz essaié dont li fluns venoit, et y envoioit gens qui portoient une maniere de pains que l'on appelle becuis, pour ce que il sont cuit par dous foiz, et de ce pain vivoient tant que il revenoient arieres au soudanc Et raportoient que il avoient cherchié le flum, et que il estoient venu a un grant tertre de roches taillies, la ou nulz n'avoit pooir de monter De ce tertre cheoit li fluns, et lour sembloit que il y eust grant foison d'arbres en la montaigne en haut, et disoient que il avoient trouvei merveilles de diverses bestes sauvaiges et de diverses façons, lyons, serpens, oliphans, qui les venoient regarder dessus la riviere de l'yaue, aussi comme il aloient en amont

191 Or revenons a nostre premiere matiere, et disons ainsi que quant li fluns vient en Egypte, il giete ses branches aussi comme je ai ja dit devant L'une de ses branches va en Damiete, l'autre en Alixandrie, la tierce a Tenis, la quarte a Raxi Et a celle branche qui va a Rexi, vint li roys de France atout son ost et si se logea entre le flum de Damiette et celui de Rexi, et toute la puissance dou soudanc se logierent sur le flum de Rexi, d'autre part, devant nostre ost pour nous deffendre le passaige laquex chose lour estoit legiere a faire, car nulz ne pooit passer ladite yaue par devers aus, se nous ne la passiens a nou

---

554 Tandis que li roys estoit a Jaffe, l'on li dist que li soudans de Damas li soufferroit bien a aler en Jerusalem, et par bon asseurement Li roys en ot grant consoil, et la fins dou consoil fu teix, que nulz ne loa le roy que il y alast, puis que il couvenist que il lessast la citei en la main des Sarrazins

555 L'on en moustra au roy un exemple qui fu teix, que quant li grans roys Phelippes se parti de devant Acre pour aler en France, il lessa toute sa gent demourer en l'ost avec le duc Hugon de Bourgoingne, l'aioul cesti duc qui est mors nouvellement Tandis que li dus sejournoit a Acre, et li roys Richars d'Angleterre aussi, nouvelles lour vindrent que il pooient penre l'endemain Jerusalem se il vouloient, pour ce que toute la force de la chevalerie le soudanc de Damas s'en estoit alee vers li, pour

36 *becuis* 'biscuit' 50 *atout* 'with', cf § 464 55 *a nou = à la nage*

une guerre que'il avoit a un autre soudanc Il atirierent lour gent, et fist li roys d'Angleterre la premiere bataille, et li dus de Bourgoingne l'autre aprés, atout les gens le roy de France

556 Tandis que il estoient a esme de prendre la ville, on li manda de l'ost le duc que il n'alast avant, car li dus de Bourgoingne s'en retournoit ariere, pour ce, sanz plus, que l'on ne deist que li Anglois eussent pris Jerusalem Tandis que il estoient en ces paroles, uns siens chevaliers li escria 'Sire, sire, venez jusques ci, et je vous mousterrai Jerusalem' Et quant il oy ce, il [illegible] sa cote a armer devant ses yex tout en plorant, et dist a Nostre Signour 'Biaus sire Diex, je te pri que tu ne seuffres que je voie ta sainte citei, puis que je ne la puis delivrer des mains de tes ennemis'

557 Ceste exemple moustra l'on au roy, pour ce que se il, qui estoit li plus grans roys des Crestiens, fesoit son pelerinage sanz delivrer la citei des ennemis Dieu, tuit li autre roy et li autre pelerin qui aprés li venroient, se tenroient tuit apaié de faire lour pelerinaige aussi comme li roys de France averoit fait ne ne feroient force de la delivrance de Jerusalem

558 Li roys Richars fist tant d'armes outre mer a celle foys que il y fu, que quant li cheval aus Sarrazins avoient poour d'aucun bisson, lour maistre lour disoient 'Cuides-tu, fesoient-il a lour chevaus, que ce soit li roys Richars d'Angleterre?' Et quant li enfant aus Sarrazinnes breoient, elles lour disoient 'Tay-toi, tay-toi, ou je irai querre le roy Richart, qui te tuera'

72 *a esme* 'of a mind' 85 *apaié* 'satisfied', 'quit'

XII FROISSART *CHRONICLES*

Date of Composition 1386–8 Edition Luce-Raynaud (1869–1931), Vol x, pp 117–21

[Anno 1381] Che propre jour au matin, s'estoient asamblé et quelliét tous les mauvais, desquels Wautre Tieullier, Jake Strau et Jehan Balle estoient cappitainne, et venu parlementer en une grande place que on dist Semitefille, ou li marchiés des chevaulx est le vendredi, et la estoient plus de vint mille, tout de une aliance, et encores en i avoit biaucop en la ville, qui se desjunoient et buvoient par les tavernes a le grenace, a le malevissie chiés les Lombars, et riens ne paioient encores tout ewireus qui leur pooit faire bonne chiere Et avoient ces gens, qui la estoient asamblés, les banieres dou roi que on leur avoit bailliét le jour devant, et estoient sus un propos cil glouton que de courir Londres

et reuber et pillier ce meïsmes jour, et dissoient les cappitainnes 'Nous n'avons riens fait ces franchisses que li rois nous a donnét nous portent trop petit de pourfit, mais soions tout d'un acord Courons ceste grosse ville et riche et poissans de Londres, avant que cil d'Exsexs et de Sousexsexs, de Cambruge, de Beteforde et les autres contrees estrangnes d'Arondiel, de Waruich, de Redinghes, de Barkesiere, d'Asquesufort, de Gillevorde, de Conventré, de Line, de Staffort, de Gernemue, de Lincolle, de Iorc et de Durames viegnent, car tout venront, et sai bien que Baker et Listier les amenront, et, se nous sommes au dessus Londres, de l'or et de l'argent et des ricoisses que nous i trouverons et qui i sont, nous arons pris premier, ne ja nous ne nous en repentirons, car, se nous les laissons, cil qui vienent, che vous di, le nous torront '

NOTES Our extract is taken from Froissart's graphic account of Wat Tyler's rebellion (Livre II, ch XIII) The language of the *Chronicles* shows abundant traces of Froissart's native dialect (Picard-Hainault), in spite of the fact that the scribes eliminated them in varying degrees The following are the most striking Picardisms *ch* (=š) for Central French *c* (=s) (*che* 1, 24, 30, etc , *chelle* 27, *chi* 36, *ochiés* 37, 97, 99, *chils* 71, *commencha* 72, *garchons* 75, *perchurent* 96, *anchois* 110, *fachons* 114, also *fach* (<FACIO) 36, 86, from which *ch* was extended in Picard to the 1st pers of other verbs), *c* (=k) for *ch* (=š) (*ricoisses* 22, *cose* 31, 111, *cascun* 100, *camps* 113, *lasque* 90), preservation of final unsupported *t* (*quellíét* 2, *baillíét* 10, *donnet* 13), omission of glide *d* (*venront* 20, and with assimilation of *l* to *r*, *torront* 25, *vorrons* 39), *-(e)ule* for *-ble* (-BILEM) (*paisieule* 63, *paisiule* 109), *men* for *mon* (54, 58), *au* for *ou* (<*ǫl*) (*vaudrai* 55), *le* for *la* def art (7?, 7?, 55, 57, 84, 99), for *la* pron (70, 72, 95), *se* for *sa* (64), *en* for *an* (*mengerai* 78), *ie* for *e* (<*ę* blocked) (*Engletiere* 39, *priés* 50, 61, *deviers* 62) early loss of *e* in hiatus with the following tonic vowel (*crant* 46), *ewireus* for *eureus* (8), *estiemes* for *estiuens*, *estions* 175) Other dialectal traits of wider currency are *iau* for *eau* (<*ęl*) (*biaucop* 6), *li* for *la* (nom of def art) (*li espee* 74), *o* for *eu* (*jones* 38), for *ou* (*biaucop* 6, *cops* 79), tendency of pre-tonic *e* to become *a* (*dalés* 33) and elimination of *v* before *r* in the future of *avoir* (23, 64, 78, 115) and *savoir* (31) are particularly common in Picard, *signeur* for *seigneur* (32, etc), *consillíét* for *conseille* (112), *maries* for *mairies* (64), *sieue* for *siue*, 3rd pres subjv of *sivre* 'to follow' (103), *vela* for *voila* (35) Orthographic confusion of single and double consonants (§ 158), notably *ss* for *s*, is particularly common in Picard (*cappitainne* 3, *valloit* 113, *aliance* 6, *dissoient* 12, *apaisse* 45, *maissons* 117, *ossés* 82, *franchisses* 13, etc , *asamblé* 1), also *ll* or *l* for *l'* (*quellíét* 2, *voel* 35, etc)

2 *quellíét*, p p of *cueillier*, cf § 294 7 *grenace* (normally masc) 'wine from S W France', *malevisie* (Mod F *malvoisie*) m or f 'Greek wine' 11 *sus un propos* 'of a single mind' 12 *reuber* 'to rob'

· A ce conseil estoient il tout d'accord, quant evous le roi qui vient en chelle place, acompaignés de soissante chevaulx, et ne pensoit point a eulx, et quidoit passer oultre et aler son chemin et laissier Londres Enssi que il estoit devant l'abbeïe de Saint Betremieu qui la est, il regarde et voit che peuple Li rois s'arreste et dist que il n'iroit plus avant, si saroit de ce peuple quel cose il leur falloit, et, se il estoient tourblé, il les rapaisseroit Li signeur qui dalés li estoient s'arresterent, che fu raisons, quant il s'arresta

Quant Wautre Thieullier vei le roi qui estoit arestés, il dist a ses gens 'Vela le roi, je voel ale[r] parler a lui Ne vous mouvés de chi, se je ne vous acene, et, se je vous fach che signe ([si] leur fist un signe), si venés avant, et ochiiés tout horsmis le roi Mais au roi ne faites nul mal il est jones, nous en ferons nostre volenté, et le menrons partout ou nous vorrons en Engletiere, et serons signeur de tout le royaulme, il n'est nulle doubte'

La avoit un juponnier de Londres, que on appeloit Jehan Ticle, qui avoit aporté et fait aporter bien soissante jupons, dont aucun de ces gloutons estoient revesti, et Thieullier en avoit un vesti [Si] li demandoit Jehans 'Hé sire! qui me paiera de mes jupons? Il me faut bien trente mars' — 'Apaisse toi, respondi Tieullers, tu seras bien paiés encores anuit Tient t'ent a moi tu as crant assés'

A ces mos, il esperonne un cheval sur quoi il estoit montés, et se part de ses compaignons, et s'en vient droitement au roi et si priés de li que la queue de son cheval estoit sus la teste dou cheval dou roi Et la premiere parolle qu'il dist, il parla au roi et dist enssi 'Rois, vois tu toutes ces gens qui sont la?' — 'Oil, dist li rois, pourquoi le dis tu?' — 'Je le di pour ce que il sont tout a men commandement, et m'ont tout juré foi et loiauté a faire che que je vaudrai' — 'A le bonne heure, dist li rois, je voel bien qu'il soit enssi' Adont dist Tieullers, qui ne demandoit que le rihotte 'Et quides tu, di, rois, que cils peuples qui la est, et otant a Londres, et tous en men commandement, se doie partir de toi enssi sans porter ent vos lettres? Nenil, nous les emporterons toutes devant nous' Dist li rois 'Il en est ordonné, et il le faut faire et delivrer l'un apriés l'autre Compains, retraiés vous tout bellement deviers vos gens et les faites retraire a Londres, et soiés paisieule, et pensés de vous, car c'est nostre entente que cascuns de vous par villages et maries ara se lettre, enssi comme dit est' A ces mos, Wautre Tieullier jette ses ieus sus un escuier dou roi qui estoit deriere le roi et portoit l'espee dou roi, et haoit cils

26 *evous* for *es* (ECCE) *vous* 'behold', cf VI, 72 36 *acene* 'beckon' 46 *anuit* 'this night', *crant* 'security' 56 *adont* 'then' 57 *rihotte* 'riot' 66 *haoit*, 3rd sing impf of *haïr*, cf § 291

Tieulliers grandement cel escuier, car autrefois il s'estoient pris de parolles, et l'avoit li escuiers vilonné· 'Voires, dist Tieulliers, es tu la? Baille moi ta daghe' — 'Non frai, dist li escuiers, pour quoi le te bailleroie je?' Li rois regarde sus son vallet, et li dist. 'Bailles li' Chils li bailla moult envis Quant Tieulliers le tint, il en commencha a juer et a tourner en sa main, et reprist la parolle a l'escuier et li dist 'Baille moi celle espee' — 'Non, frai, dist li escuiers, c'est li espee dou roi, tu ne vaulx mies que tu l'aies, car tu n'iés que uns garchons, et, se moi et toi estiemes tout seul en celle place, tu ne diroies ces parolles ne eusses dit pour ossi grant d'or que cils moustiers de Saint Pol est grans' — 'Par ma foi, dist Tieulliers, je ne mengerai jamais, si arai ta teste' A ces cops estoit venus li maires de Londres, li dousimes montés as chevauls et tous armés desous leurs cottes, et rompi la presse, et vei comment cils Tieulliers se demenoit, si dist en son langage 'Gars, comment es tu si ossés de dire tels parolles en la presence dou roi? C'est trop pour toi' Adont li rois se felenia et dist au maieur 'Maires, mettés le main a li' Entrues que li rois parloit, cils Tieulliers avoit parlé au maieur et dit 'Et, de ce que je di et fach, a toi qu'en monte?' — 'Voire, dist li maires, qui ja estoit avoés dou roi, gars puans, parle[s] tu enssi en la presence de mon naturel signeur? Je ne voel jamais vivre, se tu ne le comperes' A ces mos il traist un grant baselaire que il portoit, et lasque et fiert che Tieullier un tel horion parmi la teste que il l'abat as piés de son cheval Sitos comme il fu cheus entre piés, on l'environna de toutes pars, par quoi il ne fust veus des assamblés qui la estoient et qui se dissoient ses gens Adont descendi uns escuiers dou roi, que on appelloit Jehan Standuich, et traist une belle espee que il portoit et le bouta ce Tieullier ou ventre, et la fu mors Adont se perchurent ces folles gens la asamblés que leur cappitains estoit ochis Si commenchierent a murmurer ensamble et a dire 'Il ont mort nostre cappitaine! alons! alons! ochions tout!' A ces mos, il se rengierent sus le place par maniere de une bataille, cascun son arc devant li, qui l'avoit La fist li rois un grant outrage, mais il fu convertis en bien, car, tantos comme Tieulliers fu aterés, il se parti de ses gens tous seuls, et dist 'Demorés chi Nuls ne me sieue' Lors vint il au devant de ces folles gens, qui s'ordonnoient pour venger leur cappitainne, et leur dist 'Signeur, que vous fault? Vous

68 *vilonné* 'insulted' 71 *envis* 'unwillingly' 79 *li dousimes* 'he being the twelfth', i e 'with eleven others' 84 *se felenia* 'became angry', *entrues que* 'while' 86 *a toi qu'en monte* 'what does that matter to you?' 89 'if you do not pay for it', *baselaire* 'cutlass' 95 *bouta* 'thrust'

n'avés autre cappitainne que moi je sui vostre rois, tenés vous en pais' Dont il avint que li plus de ces gens, sitos comme il veirent le roi et oirent parler, il furent tout vaincu et se commenchierent a defuir, et che estoient li paisiule, mais li mauvais ne se departoient mies, anchois se ordonnoient et monstroient que il feroient quel [que] cose Adont retourna li rois a ses gens et demanda que il estoit bon à faire Il fu consillié que il se trairoient sus les camps, car fuirs ne eslongiers ne leur valloit riens, et dist li maires 'Il est bon que nous fachons enssi, car je suppose que nous arons tantos grant confort de ceuls de Londres, des bonnes gens de nostre lés, qui sont pourveus et armés, eux et leurs amis, en leurs maissons'

111 *quel*, cf § 276 116 *lés* 'side'

XIII *LES QUINZE JOYES DE MARIAGE*

First edition 15th century (as reprinted by F Heuckenkamp, 1901) [1]

La quarte joye de mariage sy est quant celui qui a este marié et a esté en son mesnage, et demeure sept ou huyt ans, et a six ou sept petis enfans, et a passé tous les maulx jours et males nuits et toutes les malleuretés dessusdictes, et dont il a eu maint maulvaiz bont, et est sa jeunesse fort refroydee, tant qu'il fust temps de soi repentir, s'il peust car il est aussi mat du mesnage et si tres-las que il ne lui en chault plus de femme, ne qu'elle die, ne qu'elle face Car il est aussy aduré comme asne a l'aguillon Le pouvre homme a ugne fille ou deux a marier, et leur tarde l'eure, et sont es jeux Et a l'advanture le bon homme n'a pas grant chevance, car il fault aux filles ou autres enfans chausses, pourpoins et autres vitailles, et plusieurs autres choses Et mesmement les filles il faut tenir joliement pour trois choses l'une pource qu'elles en seront plus tost demandees de plusieurs galans, l'autre si est que se le preuxdomme n'en vouloit rien faire, il n'en seroit rien pour lui, car la dame, qui a passé par ycelle voye comme elles font, ne le souffriroit pas, l'autre si est pource que les filles ont le cuer bon et gay de leur coustume, et jamais ne seront aultrement qu'elles ne soyent jolies, et a l'advanture, qui ne les tiendroit, ilz trouveroient maniere d'avoir leure jolyvetés, de quoy je me taiz Et ainsi le bon homme est esbahy de tous les costes, et porte les grans charges, qui sera, a l'advanture, mal habillé Et ne lui en chault mais qu'il vive, et aussi lui

[1] Cf p 352 We have introduced diacritic signs, punctuation, and the distinction between *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* We adopt the editor's *suspec* for *suepec* (65)

souffit bien, comme au poisson qui est en la nassé, qui auroit bon temps s'on le laissast vivre en languissant, mais on lui abrege ses jours si fait on au povre homme qui est mis en la nasse de mesnage pour les tourmens que j'ay dis, et autres innumerables Et pource, lui voiant les charges et les choses que il a [a] faire, comme j'ay dit, il ne lui chault mes qu'il vive, et met tout a non chaloir, comme un cheval recreu ne fait compte des esperons ne de chose qui oncques lui fut faicte Ce non obstant, il fault qu'il trote et aille dehors pour gouverner sa terre selon l'estat dont il est Il a a l'advanture deux povres chevaux, ou ung, ou nul Maintenant s'en va trente ou quarante lieues a ugne assise ou en parlement pour une vielle cause qui a duré long temps Il a unes botes qui ont trois ou quatre ans, et ont esté apareillees par bas tant que ce qui souloit estre aux genoulx est au millieu de la jambe Il a uns esperons du temps au roy Cloutaire, dont l'un n'a point de molete, et une robe de parement qui a bien dix ans, mais il n'a acoustumé de la porter, si non aux bonnes festes et quant il alloit dehors, et est de vielle façon, pource que depuis qu'elle est faicte, il est venu d'autres nouvelletés de robes Et quelques jeux ou instrumens qu'il voie, il lui souvient tousjours de son mesnage Il vit povrement sur les chemins, et les chevaux [de] mesmes, s'il en a, et ung varlet tout desgarote, qui a au costé une vielle espee toute enroullie que son maistre gaigna en la bataille de Flandres Il porte unes vielles bouges ou le povre homme porte son harnoys de jambes a la bataille Briefvement, le bon homme fait le mieulx qu'il peut, et a petis despens, car il a assés a la maison qui lui despent Et aussi est il plus empesché d'advocas, de sergens et de greffiers Et s'en vient le plus tost qu'il peut en sa maison, et a l'advanture que l'eure est aussi pres du matin comme du soir, et ne trouve que souper, car la dame et tout son mesnage sont couchés, et le bon homme prent tout en pascience, car il l'a bien acoustumé Et s'il advient que le bon homme arrive de bonne heure, fort las et travaillé, et a le cuer pencif et chargé et angoisseux de ses besongnes et cuide bien estre arrivé—combien que il a maintes fois eu aussi bien qu'il pense d'avoir—la dame tance et tempeste par la maison Et sachez que, quelque chose que le bon homme commande ou die, les serviteurs n'en feront compte, car ilz seront tous de la dame, et les aura tous endoctrinés Et pource il pert sa peine de riens commander, s'il ne plait a la dame Se le povre varlet qui a esté avecques luy demande chose pour lui ou pour ses chevaux, il sera suspec et rebouté, et n'ousera rien dire Et aussy le bon homme, qui est sage et ne veult point fayre de noise, prent tout en pascience et dit 'Dame, vraiement vous faictes

bien des vostres!' Et la dame respont 'Vous avés plus perdu que vous ne gaingnerés de deux ans. Je vous avoie piesça bien dit de par tous les dyables que vous feissiés fermer nostre polallier la martre m'a mengié trois de mes vielles gelines, dont vous vous apercepvrés bien du dommage Par Dieu, se vous vivés vostre aage, vous serés le plus povre homme de vostre lignage' 'Belle dame,' ce fait il, 'ne me dictes point telles paroles Dieu mercy, j'ay assés, et auray, se Dieu plait, et y a de bonnes gens en mon lygnaige' 'Ha, voy!' fait elle, 'en vostre lignage! Par saincte Marie, je ne sçay ou il sont, mais au moins je n'en voy gueres!' 'Par ma foy,' fait il, 'dame, il en y a de bons et qui vous valent bien' 'Eulx,' fait elle, 'qu'ilz me valent!' 'Oy,' fait le preudomme 'Par Dieu,' fait elle, 'vostre fait fust bien petit se ne fussent mes amis' 'Et pour Dieu, belle dame, laissés ester ces paroles' 'Certes,' fait elle, 'ilz vous respondroient bien, se vous leur parliés de cestes paroles!' Lors le bon homme se taist, car a l'advanture il a doubte qu'elle le die a ses parens

Et adoncques se prent a plourer l'un des petis enfans, et la dame le prent et bat tres-bien de bonnes verges, par despit du bon homme plus que pour autre chose Lors dit le preudomme 'Belle dame, ne le batés plus,' et se cuide courroucer Et la dame commence a tencer et dit 'Ha! de par tous les diables, vous n'avés pas la peine de les gouverner, ne ilz ne vous coustent gueres, et je suis tout les jours aprés que malle mort s'y puist mectre' 'Haa! belle dame,' fait il, 'c'est tres-mal dit' 'Havoi! mon seigneur,' ce fait la nourrisse, 'vous ne sçavez pas la peine qui y est et qu'il nous fault endurer a les nourrir' 'Par ma foy,' dit la chamberiere, 'c'est grant honte a vous quant vous venés de dehors, la maison deust estre resjouye de vostre venue et vous ne faictes que noise et debat.' Et ainsy le bonhomme, soy voiant aculé de toutes pars, et voit qu'il n'y peut riens gaigner, s'en va coucher sans souper, et par avanture tout moullié et morfondu, et s'il soupe, Dieu scet comment il est aise et quelle plaisance il a Puis s'en va coucher, et oit toute la nuit les enfans crier, et la dame et la nourrisse les laissent crier tout en esciant, pour despit du puvre homme Et ainsi passe la nuyt en soussy et en tourment, et tient tout a joye, veu qu'il ne vouldroit pas autrement Pource y est et demourra tousjours et finira miserablement ses jours

XIV RABELAIS *GARGANTUA*

Edition Abel Lefranc (Champion, 1913)

Comment Gargantua laissa la ville de Paris pour secourir son païs, et comment Gymnaste rencontra les ennemys

Chapitre XXXIV

En ceste mesmes heure, Gargantua, qui estoyt yssu de Paris soubdain les lettres de son pere leues, sus sa grand jument venant, avoit jà passé le pont de la Nonnain, luy, Ponocrates, Gymnaste et Eudemon, lesquelz pour le suivre avoient prins chevaulx de poste Le reste de son train venoit à justes journées, amenent tous ses livres et instrument philosophique

Luy arrivé à Parillé, fut adverty par le mestayer de Gouguet comment Picrochole s'estoit remparé à La Roche Clermaud et avoit envoyé le capitaine Tripet avec grosse armée assaillir le boys de Vede et Vaugaudry, et qu'ilz avoient couru la poulle jusques au Pressouer Billard, et que c'estoit chose estrange et difficile à croyre des excès qu'ilz faisoient par le pays Tant qu'il luy feist paour, et ne sçavoit bien que dire ny que faire Mais Ponocrates luy conseilla qu'ilz se transportassent vers le seigneur de La Vauguyon, qui de tous temps avoit esté leur amy et confederé, et par luy seroient mieulx advisez de tous affaires, ce qu'ilz feirent incontinent, et le trouverent en bonne deliberation de leur secourir, et feut de opinion que il envoyroit quelq'un de ses gens pour descouvrir le pays et sçavoir en quel estat estoient les ennemys, affin de y proceder par conseil prins scelon la forme de l'heure presente Gymnaste se offrit d'y aller, mais il feut conclud que pour le meilleur il menast avecques soy quelq'un qui congneust les voyes et destorses et les rivieres de l'entour

Adoncques partirent luy et Prelinguand, escuyer de Vauguyon, et sans effroy espierent de tous coustez Ce pendent Gargantua se refraischit et repeut quelque peu avecques ses gens, et feist donner à sa jument un picotin d'avoyne c'estoient soisante et quatorze muys troys boisseaux Gymnaste et son compaignon tant chevaucherent qu'ilz rencontrerent les ennemys tous espars et mal en ordre, pillans et desrobans tout ce qu'ilz povoient, et, de tant loing qu'ilz l'aperceurent, accoururent sus luy à la foulle pour le destrouser Adonc il leurs cria

'Messieurs, je suys pauvre diable, je vous requiers qu'ayez de moy mercy J'ay encores quelque escu, nous le boyrons, car c'est

aurum potabile, et ce cheval icy sera vendu pour payer ma bien venue, cela faict, retenez moy des vostres, car jamais homme ne sceut mieulx prendre, larder, roustir et aprester, voyre, par Dieu! demembrer et gourmander poulle que moy qui suys icy, et pour mon *proficiat* je boy à tous bons compaignons'

Lors descouvrit sa ferriere et, sans mettre le nez dedans, beuvoyt assez honnestement Les maroufles le regardoient, ouvrans la gueule d'un grand pied et tirans les langues comme levriers, en attente de boyre apres, mais Tripet, le capitaine, sus ce poinct accourut veoir que c'estoit A luy Gymnaste offrit sa bouteille, disant

'Tenez, capitaine, beuvez en hardiment, j'en ay faict l'essay, c'est vin de La Faye Monjau

— Quoy, dist Tripet, ce gautier icy se guabele de nous! Qui es tu?

— Je suis (dist Gymnaste) pauvre diable

— Ha! (dist Tripet) puisque tu es pauvre diable, c'est raison que passes oultre, car tout pauvre diable passe partout sans peage ny gabelle, mais ce n'est de coustume que pauvres diables soient si bien monstez Pour tant, Monsieur le diable, descendez que je aye le roussin, et, si bien il ne me porte, vous, Maistre diable, me porterez, car j'ayme fort q'un diable tel m'emporte'

Comment Gymnaste soupplement tua le capitaine Tripet et aultres gens de Picrochole

Chapitre xxxv

Ces motz entenduz, aulcuns d'entre eulx commencerent avoir frayeur et se seignoient de toutes mains, pensans que ce feust un diable desguisé Et quelq'un d'eulx, nommé Bon Joan, capitaine des Franc Topins, tyra ses heures de sa braguette et cria assez hault '*Agios ho Theos* Si tu es de Dieu, sy parle! Sy tu es de l'Aultre, sy t'en va!' Et pas ne s'en alloit, ce que entendirent plusieurs de la bande, et departoient de la compaignie, le tout notant et considerant Gymnaste

Pour tant feist semblant descendre de cheval, et, quand feut pendent du cousté du montouer, feist soupplement le tour de l'estriviere, son espée bastarde au cousté, et, par dessoubz passé, se lança en l'air et se tint des deux piedz sus la scelle, le cul tourné vers la teste du cheval Puis dist 'Mon cas va au rebours'

Adoncq, en tel poinct qu'il estoit, feist la guambade sus un pied et, tournant à senestre, ne faillit oncq de rencontrer sa propre assiete sans en rien varier Dont dist Tripet

'Ha! ne feray pas cestuy là pour ceste heure, et pour cause

— Bren ! (dist Gymnaste) j'ay failly, je voys defaire cestuy sault '

Lors par grande force et agilité feist en tournant à dextre la gambade comme davant Ce faict, mist le poulce de la dextre sus l'arçon de la scelle et leva tout le corps en l'air, se soustenant tout le corps sus le muscle et nerf dudict poulce, et ainsi se tourna troys foys A la quatriesme, se renversant tout le corps sans a rien toucher, se guinda entre les deux aureilles du cheval, soudant tout le corps en l'air sus le poulce de la senestre, et en cest estat feist le tour du moulinet, puis, frappant du plat de la main dextre sus le meilheu de la selle, se donna tel branle qu'il se assist sus la crope, comme font les damoiselles

Ce faict, tout à l'aise passe la jambe droicte par sus la selle, et se mist en estat de chevaucheur sus la croppe

'Mais (dist il) mieulx vault que je me mette entre les arsons '

Adoncq, se appoyant sus les poulces des deux mains à la crope davant soy, se renversa cul sus teste en l'air et se trouva entre les arsons en bon maintien, puis d'un soubresault leva tout le corps en l'air, et ainsi se tint piedz joinctz entre les arsons, et là tournoya plus de cent tours, les bras estenduz en croix, et crioit ce faisant à haulte voix 'J'enrage, diables, j'enrage, j'enrage ! Tenez moy, diables, tenez moy, tenez !'

Tandis qu'ainsi voltigeoit, les marroufles en grand esbahissement disoient l'ung à l'aultre 'Par la mer Dé ! c'est un lutin ou un diable ainsi deguisé *Ab hoste maligno, libera nos, Domine* ' Et fuyoient à la route, regardans darriere soy comme un chien qui emporte un plumail

Lors Gymnaste, voyant son advantaige, descend de cheval, desguaigne son espée et à grands coups chargea sus les plus huppés, et les ruoit à grands monceaulx, blessez, navrez et meurtriz, sans que nul luy resistast, pensans que ce feust un diable affamé, tant par les merveilleux voltigemens qu'il avoit faict que par les propos que luy avoit tenu Tripet en l'appellant *pauvre diable*, sinon que Tripet en trahison luy voulut fendre la cervelle de son espée lansquenette, mais il estoit bien armé et de cestuy coup ne sentit que le chargement, et, soubdain se tournant, lancea un estoc volant audict Tripet, et, ce pendent que icelluy se couvroit en hault, luy tailla d'un coup l'estomac, le colon et la moytié du foye, dont tomba par terre, et, tombant, rendit plus de quatre potées de souppes, et l'ame meslée parmy les souppes

Ce faict, Gymnaste se retyre, considerant que les cas de hazart jamais ne fault poursuyvre jusques à leur periode et qu'il convient à tous chevaliers reverentement traicter leur bonne fortune, sans la molester ny gehainer, et, montant sus son cheval, luy donne

des espefons, tyrant droict son chemin vers La Vauguyon, et Prelinguand avecques luy

XV PIERRE DE RONSARD

Edition P Laumonier (Société des Textes Français Modernes, 1914–1928)

(*a*) *A la fontaine Bellerie*[1]

(Livre II, Ode IX)

O Déesse Bellerie,
Belle Déesse cherie
De nos Nimphes, dont la vois
Sonne ta gloire hautaine
Acordante au son des bois,
Voire au bruit de ta fontaine,
Et de mes vers que tu ois

Tu es la Nimphe eternelle
De ma terre paternelle,
Pource en ce pré verdelet
Voi ton Poete qui t'orne
D'un petit chevreau de laict,
A qui l'une & l'autre corne
Sortent du front nouvelet

Sus ton bord je me repose,
Et là oisif je compose
Caché sous tes saules vers
Je ne sçai quoi, qui ta gloire
Envoira par l'univers,
Commandant à la memoire
Que tu vives par mes vers

L'ardeur de la Canicule
Toi, ne tes rives ne brule,
Tellement qu'en toutes pars
Ton ombre est epaisse & drue
Aus pasteurs venans des parcs,
Aus beufs las de la charue,
Et au bestial epars

[1] Ed Laumonier, I, p 203, reproducing the text of the first edition (1550)

Tu seras faite sans cesse
Des fontaines la princesse,
Moi çelebrant le conduit
Du rocher persé, qui darde
Avec un enroué bruit,
L'eau de ta source jazarde
Qui trepillante se suit

(*b*) *Ode à Cassandre*[1]

Mignonne, allon voir si la rose
Qui ce matin avoit declose
Sa robe de pourpre au soleil,
A point perdu, cette vesprée,
Les plis de sa robe pourprée,
Et son teint au vostre pareil
Las, voiés comme en peu d'espace,
Mignonne, elle a dessus la place
Las, las, ses beautés laissé cheoir!
O vraiment maratre Nature,
Puis qu'une telle fleur ne dure
Que du matin jusques au soir
Donc, si vous me croiés, mignonne
Tandis que vôtre âge fleuronne
En sa plus verte nouveauté,
Cueillés, cueillés vôtre jeunesse
Comme à cette fleur, la vieillesse
Fera ternir vôtre beauté

XVI MONTAIGNE *LES ESSAIS*

Edition F Strowski (Bordeaux, 1906)[2]

Livre I, Chapitre XX

Que Philosopher c'est apprendre à mourir

Cicero dit que Philosopher ce n'est autre chose que s'aprester à la mort C'est d'autant que l'estude & la contemplation retirent

[1] Ed Laumonier, V, p 196, reproducing the text of the first edition (*Les Amours*, 1553)

[2] The text is that of the so-called 'exemplaire de Bordeaux', a copy of the 1588 edition with corrections and additions in Montaigne's own hand The latter are here printed in italics and Montaigne's spellings have been strictly preserved (as in F Strowski's edition), but the punctuation (including the use of the apostrophe) has been regularized

aucunement nostre ame hors de nous, & l'embesongnent à part du corps, qui est quelque aprentissage & ressemblance de la mort, ou bien, c'est que toute la sagesse & discours du monde se resoult en fin a ce point, de nous apprendre à ne craindre *point* à mourir De vray, ou la raison se mocque, ou elle ne doit viser qu'à nostre contentement, & tout son trauail tendre en somme à nous faire bien viure, & à nostre aise, comme dict la Saincte escriture Toutes les opinions du monde en sont là, *que le plaisir est nostre but*, quoy qu'elles en prennent diuers moyens, autrement on les chasseroit d'arriuée car qui escouteroit celuy qui pour sa fin establiroit nostre *peine et mesaise*?

Les dissantions des sectes philosophiques, en ce cas, sont uerbales "Transcurramus solertissimas nugas" Il y a plus d'opiniatreté et de picoterie qu'il n'apartient a une si seincte profession Mais quelque personage que l'home entrepraigne, il roue tousiours le sien parmy Quoi qu'ils dient, en la uertu mesme le dernier but de nostre usee c'est la uolupté Il me plait de battre leurs oreilles de ce mot qui leur est si fort a contreceur Et s'il signifie quelque supreme plaisir et excessif contentemant, il est mieus deu a l'assistance de la uertu qu'a null'autre assistance Cette uolupte, pour estre plus gaillarde, nerueuse, robuste, uirile, n'en est que plus serieusement uoluptueuse Et luy deuons doner le nom du plaisir, plus fauorable, plus dous et naturel non celuy de la uigur, duquel nous l'auons denomee Cett'autre uolupté plus basse, si elle meritoit ce beau nom, ce deuoit estre en concurrance, non par priuilege Ie la treuue moins pure d'incommoditez & de trauerses que n'est la uertu Outre que son goust est plus momentanee, fluide & caduque, ell'a ses ueillees, ses iunes, & ses trauaus, & la sueur, et le sang, & en outre particulierement ses passions tranchantes de tant de sortes, & a son coste une satieté si lourde qu'elle equipolle a panitãce Nous auons grand tort d'estimer que ces incommoditez luy seruent d'eguillon et de condimant a sa douceur, come en nature le contrere se uiuifie par son contrere, et de dire, quand nous uenons a la uertu, que pareilles suites & difficultez l'accablent, la rendẽt austere & inaccessible, la ou, beaucoup plus propremant qu'a la uolupte, elles annoblissent, exguisent, et rehaussent le plaisir diuin et parfaict qu'elle nous moiene Celuy la est certes bien indigne de son acointance, qui contrepoise son coust a son fruit, et n'en conoit ny les graces ny l'usage Ceus qui nous uont instruisant que sa queste est scabreuse et laborieuse, sa iouissance agreable, que nous disent ils par la, si non qu'elle est tousiours desagreable Car quel moien humain arriua iamais a sa iouissance? Les plus parfaicts se sont bien contantez d'y aspirer et de l'aprocher sans la posseder Mais ils se trompent ueu que de tous les plaisirs que nous conessons, la poursuite mesme en est plaisante L'entreprinse se sent de la qualite de la chose qu'elle regarde, car c'est une bone portion de l'effaict et consubstantielle L'heur et la beatitude qui reluit en la uertu, ramplit

toutes ses apartenances & auenues iusques a la premiere entree et extreme barriere Or des principaus bienfaicts de la uertu est le mespris de la mort, moien qui fournit nostre uie d'une molle tranquillité, nous en done le goust pur et amiable, sans qui tout'autre uolupté est esteinte

Voyla pourquoy toutes les *regles* se rencontrent & conuiennent à *cet* article Et bien qu'elles nous conduisent aussi toutes d'vn commun accord à mespriser la douleur, la pauureté, & autres accidens à quoy la vie humaine est subiecte, ce n'est pas d'vn pareil soing, tant par ce que ces accidens ne sont pas de telle necessité (la pluspart des hommes passent leur vie sans gouster de la pauureté, & tels encore sans sentiment de douleur & de maladie, comme Xenophilus le Musicien, qui vescut cent & six ans d'vne entiere santé) qu'aussi d'autant qu'au pis aller la mort peut mettre fin, quand il nous plaira, & coupper broche à tous autres inconueniens Mais quant à la mort, elle est ineuitable,

> Omnes eodem cogimur, omnium
> Versatur vrna, serius ocius
> Sors exitura & nos in æter-
> Num exitium impositura cymbæ

Et par consequent, si elle nous faict peur, c'est vn subiect continuel de tourment, & qui ne se peut aucunement soulager *Il n'est lieu d'ou elle ne nous uienne, nous pouuons tourner sans cesse la teste ça & la come en pais suspect "quæ quasi saxum Tantalo semper impendet"* Nos parlemens renuoyent souuent executer les criminels au lieu où le crime est commis durant le chemin, promenez les par *des* belles maisons, faictes leur tant de bonne chere qu'il vous plaira,

> non Siculæ dapes
> Dulcem elaborabunt saporem,
> Non auium cytharæque cantus
> Somnum reducent,

pensez vous qu'ils s'en puissent resiouir, & que la finale intention de leur voyage, leur estant ordinairement deuant les yeux, ne leur ait alteré & affadi le goust à toutes ces commoditez?

> Audit iter, numeratque dies, spacióque viarum
> Metitur vitam, torquetur peste futura

Le but de nostre carriere c'est la mort, c'est l'obiect necessaire de nostre visée si elle nous effraye, comme est il possible d'aller vn pas auant, sans fiebure? Le remede du vulgaire c'est de n'y penser pas Mais de quelle brutale stupidité luy peut venir vn si grossier aueuglement? Il luy faut faire brider l'asne par la queue,

> Qui capite ipse suo instituit vestigia retro

Ce n'est pas de merueille s'il est si souuent pris au piege On faict peur à nos gens, seulement de nommer la mort, & la plus-part s'en seignent, comme du nom du diable Et par-ce qu'il s'en faict mention aux testamens, ne vous attendez pas qu'ils y mettent la main, que le medecin ne leur ait donné l'extreme sentence, & Dieu sçait lors, entre la douleur & la frayeur, de quel bon iugement ils vous le patissent

Parce que cette syllabe frappoit trop rudement leurs oreilles, & que cette voix leur sembloit malencontreuse, les Romains auoyent apris de l'amollir ou de l'estendre en periſrazes Au lieu de dire il est mort, il a cessé de viure, disent-ils, il a vescu Pourueu que ce soit vie, soit elle passée, ils *se consolent* Nous en auons emprunté nostre feu Maistre-Iehan

XVII MOLIÈRE *LE MISANTHROPE*

Edition Paris, 1674 (Denys Thierry et Claude Barbin) [1]

Act II, Scene 1

ALCESTE

Madame, voulez-vous que je vous parle net?
De vos façons d'agir je suis mal satisfait
Contr'elles, dans mon Cœur, trop de Bile s'assemble,
Et je sens qu'il faudra que nous rompions ensemble
Ouy, je vous tromperois de parler autrement,
Tost ou tard nous romprons, indubitablement,
Et je vous promettrois mille fois le contraire,
Que je ne serois pas en pouvoir de le faire

CELIMENE

C'est pour me quereller donc à ce que je voy,
Que vous avez voulu me ramener chez moy?

[1] The only changes we have made consist in the expansion of $\tilde{a}$ to *an* (13, 37, 63), $\tilde{e}$ to *en* (21), $\tilde{o}$ to *on* (13, 17, 32, 35, 37), $\tilde{o}$ to *om* (43, 52), cf § 167
The 1667 edition (Paris, Jean Ribou) is less carefully printed (misprints 18 and 80 *les*] *le*, 23 *Arme*, 54 *voyez*, and perhaps 82 *Amant*] *Amour*) It shows a much more sparing use of *j* and *v* and of the hyphen The use of capitals is identical, but the comma is employed much more freely The bar ($\bar{a}$, $\bar{o}$, etc) and the accent (acute or circumflex) are sometimes used merely to economize space The following are the chief orthographical variants 5 and 76 *Ouy*, 12 *accez*, 17 *fond*, 25 *presentez*, 27 *estendue*, 31 *Merite*, 38 *a-t'il*, 40 *gaigné*, 45 *Procez*, 47 *Proces*, 50 *reçeu*, 51 *r'asseoir*, 60 *souffire*, 61 *assûrera*, 64 *la*, 66 *dedis*, 67 *même*, 69 *r'atrape*, 70 *benray*, 73 *éforts*, 84 *Demeslez*

ALCESTE

Je ne querelle point, mais vostre humeur, Madame,
Ouvre au premier venu trop d'accés dans vôtre Ame,
Vous avez trop d'Amans, qu'on voit vous obseder,
Et mon cœur de cela ne peut s'accommoder

CELIMENE

Des Amans que je fais, me rendez-vous coupable?
Puis-je empescher les Gens, de me trouver aimable?
Et lors que pour me voir, ils font de doux efforts,
Dois-je prendre un Baston, pour les mettre dehors?

ALCESTE

Non, ce n'est pas, Madame, un Baston qu'il faut prendre,
Mais un Cœur à leurs vœux moins facile & moins tendre
Je sçai que vos Appas vous suivent en tous Lieux,
Mais vostre accueil retient ceux qu'attirent vos yeux,
Et sa douceur offerte à qui vous rend les Armes,
Acheve sur les Cœurs l'Ouvrage de vos Charmes
Le trop riant Espoir que vous leur présentez,
Attache autour de vous leurs assiduitez,
Et vostre Complaisance, un peu moins étendue,
De tant de Soûpirans chasseroit la Cohue
Mais, au moins, dites-moy, Madame, par quel Sort,
Vostre Clitandre a l'heur de vous plaire si fort?
Sur quel fonds de Mérite, & de Vertu sublime,
Appuyez-vous, en lui, l'honneur de vostre Estime?
Est-ce par l'Ongle long, qu'il porte au petit Doigt,
Qu'il s'est acquis, chez vous, l'Estime où l'on le voit?
Vous estes-vous rendue, avec tout le beau Monde,
Au mérite éclatant de sa Perruque blonde?
Sont-ce ses grands Canons, qui vous le font aimer?
L'amas de ses Rubans a-t-il sçeu vous charmer?
Est-ce par les appas de sa vaste Reingrave,
Qu'il a gagné vostre Ame, en faisant vôtre Esclave?
Ou sa façon de rire, & son ton de Faucet,
Ont-ils de vous toucher sçeu trouver le secret?

CELIMENE

Qu'injustement, de lui, vous prenez de l'ombrage!
Ne sçavez-vous pas bien, pourquoi je le ménage?
Et que dans mon Procés, ainsi qu'il m'a promis,
Il peut interesser tout ce qu'il a d'Amis

ALCESTE

Perdez vostre Proces, Madame, avec constance,
Et ne ménagez point un Rival qui m'offence

CELIMENE

Mais de tout l'Univers, vous devenez jalous

ALCESTE

C'est que tout l'Univers est bien receu de vous

CELIMENE

C'est ce qui doit rasseoir vostre Ame effarouchée,
Puis que ma Complaisance est sur tous épanchée
Et vous auriez plus lieu de vous en offencer,
Si vous me la voyiez sur un seul ramasser

ALCESTE

Mais, moy, que vous blâmez de trop de jalousie?
Qu'ay-je de plus qu'eux tous, Madame, je vous prie?

CELIMENE

Le bon-heur de sçavoir que vous estes aimé

ALCESTE

Et quel lieu de le croire, à mon Cœur enflamé?

CELIMENE

Je pense qu'ayant pris le soin de vous le dire,
Un aveu de la sorte a dequoy vous suffire

ALCESTE

Mais qui m'assurera que, dans le mesme instant,
Vous n'en disiez, peut-estre, aux autres tout autant?

CELIMENE

Certes, pour un Amant la Fleurette est mignonne,
Et vous me traitez là de gentille Personne
Hé bien, pour vous oster d'un semblable soucy,
De tout ce que j'ay dit, je me dédis icy
Et rien ne sçauroit plus vous tromper, que vous-mesme,
Soyez content

ALCESTE

Morbleu, faut-il que je vous aime?
Ah! que si de vos Mains je r'attrape mon Cœur,
Je béniray le Ciel de ce rare Bon-heur!

Je ne le cele pas, je fais tout mon possible
A rompre de ce Cœur l'attachement terrible,
Mais mes plus grands efforts n'ont rien fait jusqu'icy,
Et c'est pour mes Pechez que je vous aime ainsi

CELIMENE

Il est vray, vostre ardeur est pour moy sans seconde

ALCESTE

Ouy, je puis là-dessus défier tout le Monde,
Mon amour ne se peut concevoir, & jamais
Personne n'a, Madame, aimé comme je fais

CELIMENE

En effet, la Méthode en est toute nouvelle,
Car vous aimez les Gens, pour leur faire querelle,
Ce n'est qu'en Mots fâcheux, qu'éclate vostre ardeur,
Et l'on n'a veu jamais, un Amant si grondeur

ALCESTE

Mais il ne tient qu'à vous, que son chagrin ne passe,
A tous nos Démeslez, coupons chemin, de grace,
Parlons a Cœur ouvert, & voyons d'arrester

XVIII LA FONTAINE *FABLES*

Edition Paris, 1678 (Denys Thierry et Claude Barbin)

(*a*) *La cigale & la Fourmy* (I, 1)

La Cigale ayant chanté
Tout l'Esté,
Se trouva fort dépourvue
Quand la bise fut venue
Pas un seul petit morceau
De mouche ou de vermisseau
Elle alla crier famine
Chez la Fourmy sa voisine,
La priant de luy prester
Quelque grain pour subsister
Jusqu'à la saison nouvelle
Je vous payray, luy dit-elle,
Avant l'Oust, foy d'animal,
Interest & principal
La Fourmy n'est pas presteuse,
C'est là son moindre défaut

Que faisiez-vous au temps chaud?
Dit elle à cette emprunteuse
Nuit & jour à tout venant
Je chantois, ne vous déplaise
Vous chantiez? j'en suis fort aise
Et bien, dansez maintenant

(*b*) *Le Loup & l'Agneau* (I, 10)

La raison du plus fort est toûjours la meilleure
Nous l'allons montrer tout à l'heure
Un Agneau se desalteroit
Dans le courant d'une onde pure
Un Loup survient à jeun qui cherchoit avanture,
Et que la faim en ces lieux attiroit
Qui te rend si hardi de troubler mon breuvage?
Dit cet animal plein de rage
Tu seras châtié de ta temerité
Sire, répond l'Agneau, que vostre Majesté
Ne se mette pas en colere,
Mais plutost qu'elle considere
Que je me vas desalterant
Dans le courant,
Plus de vingt pas au dessous d'elle,
Et que par consequent en aucune façon
Je ne puis troubler sa boisson
Tu la troubles, reprit cette beste cruelle,
Et je sçai que de moy tu médis l'an passé
Comment l'aurois-je fait si je n'estois pas né?
Reprit l'Agneau, je tete encore ma mere
Si ce n'est toy, c'est donc ton frere
Je n'en ay point C'est donc quelqu'un des tiens
Car vous ne m'épargnez guéres,
Vous, vos bergers, & vos chiens
On me l'a dit il faut que je me vange
Là-dessus au fond des forests
Le Loup l'emporte, & puis le mange,
Sans autre forme de procés

Appendix B

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY[1]

GENERAL[2]

A DARMESTETER *Cours de grammaire historique de la langue française* Paris Published posthumously by E MURET (vol I, 1891) and L SUDRE (vols II–IV, 1894–7), later editions by L SUDRE, whose name we use as a short reference for examples taken from vol IV

KR NYROP *Grammaire historique de la langue française* 6 vols Copenhagen, 1899–1930

F BRUNOT *Histoire de la langue française des origines à 1900* Paris, 1905 ff Twelve volumes (tomes I–V, VII and part of VI, IX) have so far appeared

—— 'La langue française', in L Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française* 8 vols Paris, 1895–1900

—— *Précis de grammaire historique de la langue française* Paris, 1887 New edition (in collaboration with Ch Bruneau) 1933

W MEYER-LÜBKE *Historische Grammatik der französischen Sprache* Heidelberg Vol I *Laut- und Flexionslehre*, 1908, 3rd ed 1913 Vol II *Wortbildungslehre*, 1921

K VOSSLER *Frankreichs Kultur im Spiegel seiner Sprachentwicklung Geschichte der französischen Schriftsprache von den Anfangen bis zur klassischen Neuzeit* Heidelberg, 1913, 2nd ed 1929

L CLÉDAT *Manuel de Phonétique et de Morphologie historique du français* Paris, 1917

A DAUZAT *La langue française, sa vie, son évolution* Paris, 1926

—— *Histoire de la langue française* Paris, 1930

A HATZFELD, A DARMESTETER et A THOMAS *Dictionnaire Général de la langue française* (preceded by *Traité de la formation de la langue*) Paris, 1892–1900

W MEYER-LÜBKE *Romanisches etymologisches Worterbuch* Heidelberg, 1911, 3rd ed in course of publication (A–T)

L CLÉDAT *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* Paris, 1912, 12th ed 1929

W VON WARTBURG *Franzosisches etymologisches Worterbuch* Bonn-Leipzig, 1922 ff Twenty-three fascicules (A–F) have appeared

[1] Further bibliographical indications on points of detail and special aspects are given in the foot-notes For other recent publications the reader should consult *The Year's Work in Modern Language Studies*, edited by W J ENTWISTLE London Vols I–III, 1931–3 Also the periodicals listed below

[2] The bibliographical indications for separate chapters should be completed by references to the relevant sections of the larger works here quoted

E GAMILLSCHEG *Etymologisches Worterbuch der franzosischen Sprache* Heidelberg, 1926–9

O BLOCH et W VON WARTBURG *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* Paris, 1932

F GODEFROY *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle* 10 vols Paris, 1880–1902

—— *Lexique de l'ancien français*, p p J BONNARD et AM SALMON Paris, 1901

A TOBLER–E LOMMATZSCH *Altfranzosisches Worterbuch* Berlin, 1915 ff Fifteen fascicules (A–De) have appeared

---

J GILLIÉRON et E EDMONT *Atlas linguistique de la France* Paris, 1900–12, *Supplément*, 1920

J GILLIÉRON et M ROQUES *Études de géographie linguistique* Paris, 1912

K JABERG *Sprachgeographie* Aarau, 1908

A DAUZAT *La géographie linguistique* Paris, 1922

—— *Essais de géographie linguistique* Paris, vol I, 1921, vol II, 1928

A -L TERRACHER *L'histoire des langues et la géographie linguistique* Oxford, 1929

J ORR Reviews in *Modern Language Review*, XXIV (1929), pp 364–70, XXV (1930), pp 365–70, *Times Literary Supplement*, March 21, 1929

PERIODICALS

Archiv fur das Studium der neueren Sprachen (*Herrigs Archiv*) 1846 ff
Romania Paris, 1872 ff
Revue des Langues romanes Montpellier, 1870 ff
Zeitschrift fur romanische Philologie Halle, 1877 ff
Zeitschrift fur franzosische Sprache und Literatur Berlin, 1878 ff
Literaturblatt fur germanische und romanische Philologie Leipzig, 1880 ff
Romanische Forschungen Erlangen, 1885 ff
Modern Language Notes Baltimore, 1886 ff
Revue de Philologie française et provençale Paris, 1887 ff
Modern Philology Chicago, 1903 ff
Modern Language Review Cambridge, 1906 ff
Romanic Review New York, 1910 ff
Archivum Romanicum Geneva, 1917 ff
Revue de Linguistique romane Paris, 1925 ff
Medium Ævum Oxford, 1932 ff

CHAPTER I

G GROBER *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie* Strasburg, vol I, 2nd ed 1906

W M LINDSAY *The Latin Language* Oxford, 1894

—— *A Short Historical Latin Grammar* Oxford, 1895, 2nd ed 1915

A MEILLET *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine* Paris, 1928, 2nd ed 1931
W MEYER-LUBKE *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* 4 vols Leipzig, 1890–1902 French translation *Grammaire des langues romanes* Paris, 1890–1906
—— *Einführung in das Studium der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft* Heidelberg, 1901, 3rd ed 1920
C H GRANDGENT *An Introduction to Vulgar Latin* Boston, 1907
E BOURCIEZ *Éléments de linguistique romane* Paris, 1910 3rd ed 1930

SCHWAN-BEHRENS *Grammatik des Altfranzosischen* Leipzig, 12th ed 1925 French translation by O BLOCH *Grammaire de l'ancien français* Leipzig, 4th ed 1932
J ANGLADE *Grammaire élementaire de l'ancien français* Paris, 1918
K VON ETTMAYER *Vortrage zur Charakteristik des Altfranzosischen* Fribourg, 1910
D A PATON *Manuel d'ancien français* London, 1913
A DARMESTETER et A HATZFELD *Le seizième siècle en France Tableau de la littérature et de la langue, suivi de morceaux choisis* Paris, 1878, 13th ed 1920
CH.-L LIVET *La grammaire française et les grammairiens au XVIe siècle* Paris, 1859
E LERCH 'Die franzosische Sprache im 19 und 20 Jahrhundert', in *Neuphilologische Monatsschrift*, I, pp 99–111, 145–58 Also separately
E RICHTER 'Der Entwicklungsweg des neuesten Franzosischen', in *Herrigs Archiv*, CLVIII, pp 60–83, 222–42
G ROHLFS *Volkssprachliche Einflusse im modernen Franzosisch* 1928
D MORNET *Histoire de la clarté française* Paris, 1929

H SUCHIER 'Die franzosische und provenzalische Sprache und ihre Mundarten', in Gröber's *Grundriss*, I, pp 712–840 French translation by P MONET (Paris, 1891)
H MORF *Zur sprachlichen Gliederung Frankreichs* Berlin, 1911
A DAUZAT *Les Patois* Paris, 1927 (Contains a useful bibliography)
L SAINÉAN *L'argot ancien* (1455–1850) Paris, 1907
—— *Les sources de l'argot ancien* 2 vols Paris, 1912
A DAUZAT *Les Argots* Paris 1929 (Contains a useful bibliography)
—— *L'argot de la guerre* Paris, 1918, 2nd ed 1919
J LACASSAGNE *L'argot du 'milieu'* Paris, 1929
G GOUGENHEIM *La langue populaire dans le premier quart du XIXe siècle* Paris, 1929
L SAINÉAN *Le langage parisien au XIXe siècle* Paris, 1920
H BAUCHE *Le langage populaire Grammaire, syntaxe et dictionnaire du français tel qu'on le parle dans le peuple de Paris* Paris, 1920 New ed 1927
L E KASTNER and J MARKS *A Glossary of Colloquial and Popular French* London, 1929

Bulletin du parler français au Canada Quebec, 1902 ff
Glossaire du parler français au Canada, préparé par la Société du parler français au Canada Quebec, 1930
A Rivard et S A Lortie *L'origine et le parler des Canadiens français* Quebec-Paris, 1903
A Rivard *Les dialectes dans le parler franco-canadien* Quebec, 1907
J Geddes et A Rivard *Bibliographie du parler français au Canada* Quebec-Paris, 1906
N-E Dionne *Le parler populaire des Canadiens français* Quebec, 1909

J Vising *Étude sur le dialecte anglo-normand du XIIe siècle* Upsala, 1882
—— *Anglo-Norman Language and Literature* Oxford, 1923 (Contains an excellent bibliography)
L É Menger *The Anglo-Norman Dialect* New York, 1904
F J Tanquerey *L'Évolution du verbe en anglo-français* Paris, 1915
M K Pope *Étude sur la langue de Frère Angier* Paris, 1903

CHAPTER II

H Paul *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* Halle, 5th ed 1920
F de Saussurl *Cours de linguistique générale* Paris, 2nd ed 1922
A Meillet *Linguistique historique et linguistique générale* Paris, 2nd ed 1926
J Vendryes *Le langage* Paris, 1921
O Jespersen *Language, its Nature, Development and Origin* London, 1922
A H Gardiner *The Theory of Speech and Language* Oxford, 1932
A Dauzat *La Vie du langage* Paris, 3rd ed 1922
—— *La Philosophie du langage* Paris, 6th ed 1929
F Brunot *La pensée et la langue* Paris, 2nd ed 1927
H Delacroix *Le langage et la pensee* Paris, 1924
Ch Bally *Le langage et la vie* Paris, 1926
—— *Linguistique générale et linguistique française* Paris, 1932
M Bartoli *Introduzione alla neolinguistica* Geneva, 1925
G Bertoni–M Bartoli *Breviario di neolinguistica* Modena, 1925

CHAPTER III

A C Juret *Manuel de phonetique latine* Paris, 1921
—— *La phonétique latine* (abridged) Strasburg, 1929
M Niedermann *Historische Lautlehre des Lateinischen* Heidelberg, 2nd ed 1931 French translation *Précis de phonetique historique du latin* Paris, 2nd ed 1931
H Suchier *Les voyelles toniques du vieux français* Paris, 1906 (Translated from the German by C Guerlin de Guer)
H E Berthon et V G Starkey *Tables synoptiques de Phonologie de l'ancien français* Oxford, 1908

E Bourciez *Précis historique de phonétique française* Paris, 7th ed 1930
Ch Thurot *De la prononciation française depuis le commencement du XVIe siècle, d'après les témoignages des grammairiens* 2 vols Paris, 1881–3
Th Rosset *Les Origines de la prononciation moderne etudiées au XVIIe siècle* Paris, 1911
E Herzog *Historische Sprachlehre des Neufranzosischen* I Teil *Einleitung Lautlehre* Heidelberg, 1913
G Rydberg *Zur Geschichte des franzosischen a* Upsala, 1896–1907
Kr Nyrop *Manuel phonetique du français parlé* Paris, 4th ed (translated by E Philipot) 1924
M Grammont *Traité pratique de prononciation française* Paris, 6th ed 1928
H Langlard *La liaison dans le français* Paris, 1928
H Klinghardt and M de Fourmestraux *French Intonation Exercises* Cambridge, 1923 (Translated from the German and adapted by M L Barker)
H Michaelis et P Passy *Dictionnaire phonetique de la langue française* Hanover, 2nd ed 1924
A Barbeau et E Rodhl *Dictionnaire phonétique de la langue française* Stockholm, 1930

CHAPTER IV

Ch Beaulieux *Histoire de l'orthographe française* Vol I, *Formation de l'orthographe* Vol II, *Les accents et autres signes auxiliaires* Paris, 1927
F Brunot *La réforme de l'orthographe* Paris, 1905
H Sensine *La ponctuation en français* Paris, 1930

CHAPTER V

A Ernout *Morphologie historique du latin* Paris, 2nd ed 1927
P Fouché *Le Verbe français Étude morphologique* Strasburg, 1931
J Gilliéron *La faillite de l'etymologie phonetique (Étude sur la défectivité des verbes)* Neuveville, 1919 Cf L Cledat in *Revue de Philologie française*, xxxiv (1922), pp 1–21
A C Juret *Système de la syntaxe latine* Strasburg, 1926
F Stolz und J H Schmalz *Lateinische Grammatik* Munich, 5th ed 1928
P Horluc et G Marinet *Bibliographie de la syntaxe française* Lyons-Paris, 1908
L Foulet *Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français* Paris, 3rd ed 1930
E Huguet *Étude sur la syntaxe de Rabelais* Paris, 1894
A Haase *Franzosische Syntax des XVII Jahrhunderts* Oppeln-Leipzig, 1888 French translation by Mlle Obert *Syntaxe française du XVIIe siècle* Paris, 1898

K SNEYDERS DE VÖGEL *Syntaxe historique du français* Groningen, 2nd ed 1926
C DE BOER *Essais de syntaxe française moderne* Groningen-Paris, 1923
J DAMOURETTE et E PICHON *Des mots à la pensée Essai de grammaire de la langue française* 3 vols Paris, 1930–2
K ETTMAYER *Zur Theorie der analytischen Syntax des Fanzosischen* Vienna, 1929
—— *Analytische Syntax der französischen Sprache, mit besonderer Berucksichtigung des Altfranzosischen* Halle, 1930 ff (To be complete in about ten parts, eight parts have appeared to date)
E LERCH *Historische franzosische Syntax* Leipzig, 1925 ff (To be complete in four volumes, the first two have appeared)
A TOBLER *Vermischte Beitrage zur franzosischen Grammatik* Leipzig, Reihe I–III, 2nd ed 1902–8, Reihe IV, 1908, Reihe V, 1912 (pp 1–29)
E RICHTER *Zur Entwicklung der romanischen Wortstellung aus der lateinischen* Vienna, 1903
—— 'Grundlinien der Wortstellungslehre', in *Zeitschrift fur rom Phil* XL, pp 9–61, XLII, pp 703–21
A BLINKENBERG *L'ordre des mots en français moderne* I Copenhagen, 1928
H FREI *La grammaire des fautes* Paris, 1929

CHAPTER VI

H BERGER *Die Lehnworter in der franzosischen Sprache altester Zeit* Leipzig, 1899
G PARIS 'Les plus anciens mots d'emprunt', in *Journal des Savants*, 1900, pp 294–307, 356–75, reprinted in *Gaston Paris Mélanges Linguistiques*, p p MARIO ROQUES, pp 315–52 Paris, 1909
W HAUPRICH *Der Einfluss des Christentums auf den franzosischen Wortschatz* Bonn, 1930
TH CLAUSSEN 'Die griechischen Worter im Franzosischen', in *Romanische Forschungen*, XV (1904), pp 774–883
G DOTTIN *La langue gauloise* Paris, 1920
R THURNEYSEN *Keltoromanisches* Halle, 1884
E MACKEL *Die germanischen Elemente in der franzosischen und provenzalischen Sprache* Heilbronn, 1887
E GAMILLSCHEG 'Germanisches im Franzosischen', in *Festschrift der Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (1926), pp 235–49
D BEHRENS *Über deutsches Sprachgut im Franzosischen* (Giessener Beitrage, Zusatzheft I) Giessen, 1924
—— *Über englisches Sprachgut im Franzosischen* (Giessener Beitrage, Zusatzheft IV) Giessen, 1927
E BONAFFÉ *Dictionnaire étymologique et historique des anglicismes* Paris, 1920.
P BARBIER *English Influence on the French Vocabulary* Oxford, 1921 Also in *Modern Language Review*, XVI (1921), pp 138–49, 252–64, and in *Modern Languages*, IV (1923), pp 139–46, 175 ff

M KUTTNER 'Anglomanie im heutigen Franzosischen', in *Zeitschrift fur frz Spr und Lit* XLVIII, pp 446–65
M SCHERER *Englisches Sprachgut in der franzosischen Tagespresse der Gegenwart* (Giessener Beitrage, XI) Giessen, 1923
M VALKHOFF *Étude sur les mots français d'origine néerlandaise* Amersfoort, 1931
B H WIND *Les mots italiens introduits en français au XVIe siècle* Deventer, 1928
G KOHLMANN *Die italienischen Lehnworte in der neufranzosischen Schriftsprache seit dem 16 Jahrhundert* Kiel, 1901
W F SCHMIDT 'Die spanischen Elemente im franzosischen Wortschatz' (*Zeitschrift fur rom Phil* Beiheft LIV) 1914
R RUPPERT *Die spanischen Lehn- und Fremdworter in der franzosischen Schriftsprache* Munich, 1915

A DARMESTETER *De la création actuelle de mots nouveaux dans la langue française* Paris, 1877
—— *Traite de la formation des mots composés* Paris, 1874, 2nd ed 1894
—— *La vie des mots* Paris 1886
M BRÉAL *Essai de sémantique* Paris, 1897, new ed 1908
G ESNAULT *L'imagination populaire* Paris, 1925
F BOILLOT 'Les metaphores fournies à la langue française par l'art littéraire', in *French Quarterly*, IX (1927), pp 245–59
—— *Répertoire des métaphores et mots français tirés des noms de villes et de pays etrangers* Paris, 1930
L SAINÉAN La création metaphorique en français et en roman' (*Zeitschrift fur rom Phil* Beihefte I and X) Halle, 1905–7
—— *Les sources indigènes de l'etymologie française* 3 vols Paris, 1925–30
H HATZFELD *Leitfaden der vergleichenden Bedeutungslehre* Munich, 1924
—— *Uber Bedeutungsverschiebung durch Formahnlichkeit* Munich, 1924
—— *Uber die Objektivierung subjektiver Begriffe im Mittelfranzosischen* Munich, 1915
F BRUNOT *Les mots temoins de l'histoire* Paris, 1928
CH BALLY *Traité de stylistique française* 2 vols Heidelberg, 2nd ed 1919–21
J GILLIERON *Pathologie et therapeutique verbales*, I–III Paris, 1915–21
—— *Genealogie des mots qui désignent l'abeille* Paris, 1918
—— *Les étymologies des étymologistes et celles du peuple* Paris, 1922
—— *Thaumaturgie linguistique* Paris, 1923 Cf MARIO ROQUES, *Bibliographie des travaux de Jules Gilliéron* Paris, 1930

W FOERSTER und H BREUER *Kristian von Troyes Worterbuch zu seinen samtlichen Werken* Halle, 1914, 2nd ed 1933
G TILANDER *Lexique du Roman de Renart* Goteborg, 1924
—— *Glanures lexicographiques* Lund, 1932
A G OTT *Étude sur les couleurs en vieux français* Paris, 1899
E HUGUET *Dictionnaire du XVIe siècle* Paris, 1925 ff (A–De)

L Sainéan *La Langue de Rabelais* 2 vols Paris, 1922–3
L Mellerio *Lexique de Ronsard* Paris, 1895
E Voizard *Étude sur la langue de Montaigne* Paris, 1885
J Coppin *Étude sur la grammaire et le vocabulaire de Montaigne* Lille, 1927
G Cayrou *Le français classique Lexique de la langue du XVIIe siècle* Paris, 1923
E Huguet *Petit glossaire des classiques français du XVIIe siècle* Paris, 3rd ed 1919
F Godefroy *Lexique comparé de la langue de Corneille et de la langue du XVIIe siècle en général* 2 vols Paris, 1862
Ch-L Livet *Lexique de la langue de Molière comparée à celle des écrivains de son temps* 3 vols Paris, 1895–7
P Adam *La langue du duc de Saint-Simon* Paris, 1920
F Gohin *Les Transformations de la langue française pendant la deuxième moitié du XVIIIe siècle* (1740–1789) Paris, 1903
M Frey *Les transformations du vocabulaire français à l'époque de la Révolution* (1789–1800) Paris, 1925
M Fuchs *Lexique du 'Journal des Goncourt'* Paris, 1912
K Glaser *Neologismus und Sprachgefuhl im heutigen Franzosischen* Giessen, 1930

A Longnon *Les noms de lieu de la France* Paris, 1920–9
A Dauzat *Les noms de lieux* Paris 2nd ed 1928
—— *Les noms de personnes* Paris, 3rd ed 1928

Index Verborum

(The numbers refer to paragraphs. Old French forms are distinguished by a dagger.)

à, 244, 254, 297–8, 457–8, 460, 463
abbe, 179
abbesse, 205, 527
abeille, 517, 591
abîme, 194
abois, 572
abolir, 289
aborder, 537
aboutir, 290
abreger, 102
abricot, 514, 516, 523
absolu, 121
absoudre, 534, *indic pres* 316, *past def* 354, *past part* 370
absurde, 117
abus, 497
acajou, 516, 581
a cause de, 457
accélérateur, 529
accent, 122
accès, 58
accessit, 126
accolade, 517
accomplir, 361, 365
accomplissements, 583
accorder, 534
accoster, 515
accroître *past part* 367 *Cf* croitre
accueillir 534 *Cf* cueillir
accusation, 497
accuser, 579
a ce que, 473, 481
acharner, 572
acheter *indic pres* 311, *fut* 336
achevement, 61
achever, 119, 573
achopper, 517
†acointier, 47
acompte, 535
†acordement, 525
a côte de, 464
acquérir *indic pres* 310, *past def* 353, 357, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 324, *past part* 362 *Cf* querir
acquêt, 371
actif, 191
actrice, 204
actuaire, 512
adagio, 515, 518
adjectif, 121
adjudant, 516
adjuger, 534, 535
admirer, 102, 121 576, 584
admonester, 595
admonition, 121
†adrecier, 573
adresse, 583
advent 121
adverbe, 121
adverse, 121
adversité, 121
affaiblir, 289 384
affaire, 194, 578
affaler, 511
affectation, 122
affecter, 122, 574, 584
†affurir, 392
affiquet, 517
affirmer 587
affliger, 289, 364
affubler, 41
affut, 572
afin que, 473
age, 53, 55 201
agglomeration, 498
agiotage, 525
agioteur, 525
agir, 289
agneau, 171, 591
aide, 202
aider, 382, *pres part* 516, *indic pres* 311
aieul, 105, 586
aigu, 59, 191
aiguayer, 517
aile, 165
ailleurs, 442
aimer, 29, 591, *indic pres* 96, 102, 308, 310, *past def* 44, *fut* 335, *impv* 279
ainsi, 442, 468, 471, 475
†ainz, 458, 467
†ainz que, 471

air, 576
aisément, 447
alambic, 514
alarme, 196, 515
albatros, 127, 514
album, 171
alchimie, 514
alcool, 514
alcôve, 516
alêne, 505
alerte, 515
alezan, 516
alguazil, 516
aliéné, 575
allégorie, 496
allemand, 523
aller *indic pres* 321, *fut* 336, *subjv pres* 323–6, *impv* 328
aller (s'en), 384, 533
alleu, 508
allumer, 45, 534
alors, 443
alors que, 471
alouette, 503, 525
alpaca, 516, 518
amadou, 517
amalgame, 514
amant, 310, 542, 586, *fem* 542
amarrer, 507
amas, 538, 548, 585
ambassadrice, 206
†aimbes, 219
ambre, 514
âme, 102, 451, 501
amer, 102, 128
américaniser, 524
amertume, 30
améthyste, 496
ameuter, 572
amiable, 593
amie, 46 102, 202
amitie, 549
a moins que, 476
amont, 225, 465
amorce, 572, 577
amour, 201, 517
amoureux, 586
amour-propre, 530
amusement, 584
an, 45, 102, 108, 181
anagramme, 502
ananas, 516
anatomie, 497
†ancelle, 102
ancêtre, 183
ancien, 218, 495–6
†ançois que, 471
ancre, 100, 102
†andui, 219
âne, 102, 205
anéantir, 290
âne salé (jeu de l'), 520
ânesse, 205
ange, 28, 496, 500, 501, 502
angelot, 527
anglais, 72
angoisse, 45, 93 102, 571
animal, 70, 157, 161, 164, 185
année, 525
annuaire, 529
annuel, 25
antarctique, 122
antenuptial, 536
antichambre, 515, 536
anti-républicain, 536
août, 23, 102
apercevoir, 56, 381
aplat, 517
apôtre, 495, 501
apparaître, 384 *Cf* paraître
apparoir, 392
appartement, 515
appas, 577, 593
appât, 572
appeler *indic pres* 169, 311, *fut* 336
applaudir, 289
appointeur, 593
apporter, 535
apprendre, 383 *Cf* prendre
approcher, 102, 384
appui, 538, 584
appuyer, 102, *indic pres* 310
âpre, 102
âprement, 61
après, 58, 299, 464
après-midi, 196, 201
après que, 471
aquarelle, 171, 515
araignée, 55, 548
arbalète, 549
arborer, 515
arbre, 193
arbrisseau, 30
arc, 531
arcade 515
arc-boutant, 118
arceau, 531
arc-en-ciel, 540

archevêché, 525
archi-bon, 536
architrave, 515
arçon, 93
†ardoir *past def* 352, *past part* 366
ardoise, 581
arête, 552, 571, 575
argent, 47, 91, 108
argentin, 526
argot, 517
argument, 496
arme, 102
armistice, 199
armoire, 195, 569
arpege 515
arpent, 503
arracher, 534
arrêter, 383, *past def* 342
arriere, 442
arriver, 571
arroser, 66
arsenal, 126, 514–15
art, 200
artifice, 585
artillerie, 565
artisan, 515, 567
asbeste 117
†ascondre *past part* 362
a seule fin que, 473
aspect, 577
a perge 56
assaillir *indic pres* 315, 317, *fut* 338
assassin, 546
assassinat, 529
assemblee, 584
assener, 505
asseoir *pres part* 302, *indic pres* 321, *part def* 352–3, 357, *fut* 337 *Cf* seoir
assez, 102, 442, 445
assidu, 577
assiette, 577
assister, 289, 382
assommoir, 526
assomption, 106
athee, 502
atlas, 126
†atout, 464
à travers, 462
atrocité, 497
attaquer, 576
atteindre *past def* 352, 354
attendu que, 472
attirail, 527
attraction, 583
au, 139
aubade, 517
aube, 541
aubépine, 539
auberge, 505
aubin, 510
aucun, 275, 451, 456
aucunement, 452 *n*
au-dessous, 445
audience, 584
aujourd'hui, 66 *Cf* hui
au moyen de, 457
aune 'alder', 29, 102, 168
aune 'ell', 506
aussi, 442, 468
aussi longtemps que, 471
aussitôt que, 471
austere, 584
authoresse, 207
autodafe, 516
automne, 201
automobile, 199
autre, 62, 168, 222, 274
autrice, 207
autrui, 274
aval, 225
avalanche, 503, 517
avancer (s'), 384
avant, 299, 458, 465, 532
avant-coureur, 533
avant-dernier, 533
avant-hier, 115
avant que, 299, 471
avaricieux, 497, 595
avec, 102, 255 *n*, 457, 458, 465
avènement, 525
avenir, 121
†aversiers, 560
aversion, 121
aveugler, 289
aviser, 384
avocat, 17, 121, 169
avocate, 207
avoine, 19
avoir, 46, 392, *pres part* 302, *indic pres* 24, 58, 102, 321, *past def* 42, 103, 350, 352, 355, 357, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 323, 325, 326, *impf* 360, *impv* 329, *past part* 363, 367
avril, 129
azur, 514

bâbord, 508
bac, 507

bacheler, 526, 527, 540
†**bacon**, 506
badaud, 517
badin, 517, 584
bagne, 515
bal, 185
balai, 58
balance, 34
balançoire, 526
balcon, 505, 515
balcine, 207
ballade, 517, 583
ballast, 512
balle, 505
ballet, 515
balzân, 515
bambou, 516
ban, 506
banal, 529
banalité, 529
banane, 516
banc, 505
bande, 505
bandit, 515
bannir, 506
banque, 515
banqueroute, 515
banquet, 515
banquette, 517
baragouin, 504
barbacane, 514
barbe, 559
barbouiller, 584
barbouquet, 517
baril, 129
baron, 47, 179, 182, *fem* 203
barrique, 517
bas, 55, 130, 186, 191
bas-bleu, 207
base, 55
basse-cour, 539
bastide, 517
bastille, 517
bastion, 515
bataillon, 515
bateau, 507
bâtiment, 546, 548, 584
bâtir, 505
battement, 525
batterie, 548
battre *indic pres* 316, *past part* 365
bazarder, 524
beau, 45, 71, 102, 188, 578
beaucoup, 520
beauté, 71
bec, 503
bedeau, 506
beffroi, 507
bégayer, 524
bélandre, 511
bêler, 34
bel esprit, 578
bélître, 60, 509
benêt, 369, 517
bénir, 290–1, *fut* 338, *past part* 369
benoît, 369, 517
bequille, 526
bercail, 517
béret, 517
berline, 525
bernicle, 504
besant, 502
betement, 446
bêtise, 59
beurre, 502
bévue, 535
bibliothèque, 567
bicoque, 556
bicycle, 512
bidet, 559
bien, 46, 79, 216, 542
bienfaiteur, 122
bien que, 474
bienseant, 302
bienveillant, 302
biere 'beer', 509, 518
biere 'bier', 506
bifteck, 512, 518–19
bigot, 510
bijou, 504
bijouterie, 527
bijoutier, 526
bilan, 515
bile, 549
billet doux, 578
binocle, 592
bisaieul, 500, 535
biscuit, 535
bise, 506
bivouac, 511
bizarre, 587
blackbouler, 520
blague, 511
blanc, 102, 191, 505, 581
blanchissage, 525, 531
blanchisseuse, 204
blende, 511
blesser, 506

blessure, 526
bleu, 506, 581
bleuâtre, 69
blinder, 511
blocus, 518, 520
†bloi, 581
blond, 581
blondin, 578
bocage, 517
bock, 511
bœuf, 46, 181, 185
bohémien, 546
boire, 293, *pres part* 301, *indic pres* 64, 306–8, 310, 314, 316, *impf* 331, *past def* 352, 355, 357, *fut* 335, 337, *subjv pres* 322, 324, *impv* 327–8, *past part* 363, 367
boite, 371
boîte aux lettres, 540
bolchévisme, 529
bolchéviste, 529
bon, 50, 79, 102, 108, 187, 191, 218, 542 *fem* 29, 78, 102
bonheur, 23, 198 *Cf* heur
bonnement, 447
bonnet, 547
bonté, 527
bord, 506
bordeaux, 547
bordelais, 525
borne, 503
bosquet 515
botter, 289
bouche, 571, 591
bouchée, 525
bouette, 504
boueux, 525
bouillabaisse, 517
bouillir, 291, *indic pres* 315–16, *fut* 338, *subjv pres* 325
boule, 553
boulevard, 56, 508, 520, 567
bouline, 507, 518
boulingrin, 512, 518, 593
bouquin, 508
bourg, 131, 171, 558
bourgeois, 526, 558
bourgmestre, 118, 509, 520
Bourgogne, 102
bourrique, 517
boussole, 515
bouter, 506, 593
boutique, 502
bouton, 451, 506
bouvreuil, 528
boyaudier, 526
brachet, 505
braconnier, 505
braie, 503
braise, 505
branche, 571
brandevin, 511
brandir, 290
braque, 505
bras, 502
bravade, 530
brave, 218, 584
bravoure, 518
brebis, 193
bredouille, 572
bredouiller 5-4
bref, 102, *fem* 189
brelan, 523
breuvage, 41, 64
brick, 512
brièvement, 447
brig, 512
brigade, 515
brigand, 515
brigue, 515
brio, 515
brisres, 572
brocard, 515
brodequin, 508
bronchite, 529
bronze, 194
broussaille, 525
broyer, 505, *fut* 336
bru, 505
brun, 505, 581
bûcheron, 527
budget, 513
buer, 505
bulletin, 515
bure, 551
bureau, 551
bureaucratie, 502
burnous, 514
buste, 518
but, 126
butin, 508
butiner, 508

ça, 261
cabane, 513, 556
cabaret, 17, 517
cabine, 513
cabinet, 515

câble, 517
caboche, 517
caboteur, 516
cabotier, 516
cabotière, 516
cabrer, 517
cacao, 516
cache-nez, 540
cacheter, 311
cachot, 527
cadastre, 517
cadavre, 408
cadeau, 517
cadenas, 517, 523
cadre, 515
cage, 17, 36
cagne, 203
caillou, 517
cailloutеux, 525
calcul, 129
calibre, 515
calmer, 515
calotte, 527
camarade, 516
cambrioleur, 517
cambuse, 511
camée, 515
camembert, 547
camisole, 515
camp, 515
campagnard, 530
campagne, 515, 591
camper, 516
canadien, 531
canard, 206, 530
cancer, 128
candeur, 582
cane, 206
canicule, 517
cannibale, 516
canon, 515
canot, 516
cantatrice, 206
cantilène, 515
cap, 517
capable, 584
caparaçon, 516
cape, 517
capitale, 541
caporal, 515
capot, 569 n
câpre, 515
caprice, 201
captiver, 584
capuchon, 515
capucin, 515, 569 n
car, 103, 467, 590
caracole, 516
carafe, 514
caresser, 61
cargue, 515
carnassier, 517
carquois, 56
carrosse, 515
carrousse, 509
cartilage, 201
cartographie, 502
carton, 515
caserne 517
casque, 516
casse-noix, 540
cassette, 515
cassine, 556
caste, 516
catacombe, 515
catarrhe, 56
cause, 106, 457
cavalcade, 515
cavale, 559
ce (*neut pron*), 255–61, 265, 268, 378
ce, cet, cette, ces, 63, 255–7, 259
ceci, 261
cédille, 516
ceindre *past def* 352, 354
ceinture, 47
cela, 261
célèbre, 17, 579, 584
céleri, 515, 518
celluloïd, 512
celui, celle, ceux, celles, 255–7, 259
cendreux, 581
ce nonobstant, 468
cens, 127
cense, 496
cent, 93, 102, 221
centaine, 527
centimètre, 502
centralisation, 529
cep, 126
cependant, 445, 468, 471
cercle, 100, 102
cercueil, 44, 56
cerf, 102, 126
certain, 218, 277
cerveau, 174
cervelle, 174
cervoise, 36
cesser, 59

chacun, 275, 520
chair, 572
chaire, 116, 502, 577
chaise, 116, 577
†chalant, 502
châle, 512
chalet, 503, 517, 556
chaloir, 392
chambellan, 530
chambre, 28, 100, 547
chameau, 502
champ, 102, 515
champagne, 200, 528
change, 584
changer, 503, 571
chanoine, 501
chanter, 289, *pres part* 301, *indic pres* 63, 101, 102, 168, 130, 306, *impf* 331, *past def* 339, 340, *fut* 58, 281, *subjv pres* 322, 324, *impf* 358, 359, *impv* 327–8
chanteuse, 206
chantre, 183
chanvre, 194
chape, 569
chapeau, 569
chapelet, 569
chapelle, 569
chaque, 275
char, 503
char-a-bancs, 540 590
charbon, 102
charge, 515
charger 36, 493
chariot, 56
charité, 500
charlatan, 515
charme 56
charmille, 526
charrette, 56
†charrière, 557
charroyer, 524
charrue, 503
chartre, 100
chasse, 548
chasser, 93, 108, 572
châssis, 527
châtaigne, 40
châtelain, 527
chaud, 28, 102
chauffage, 525
chaussée, 557
chauve, 190
chef, 102, 174, 185, 545
chef-d'œuvre, 540
chef-lieu, 539
cheik, 514
†chemeil, *see* chameau
chemin, 60, 557
chênaie, 527
chenil, 129
cheque, 512
cher, 36, 46, 93, 102, 128
chercher, 20
chere, 595
chérir, 60
cheuf, 564
-heval, 35, 119, 181, 206, 503, 559
chevalier, 531
chevelure, 526
cheveux, 45
cheville, 526
chèvre, 102
chevreau, 525
chez, 169, 458, 464
chien, 35, 46, *fem* 203
chiendent, 540
chiffre, 514, 515, 518
chiourme, 518
chocolat, 516, 518
choir, 292, 294, 595, *indic pres* 321, *past def* 345, 350, *fut* 335, 337, *subjv pres* 324, *past part* 369
choisir, 505
chose, 65, 67, 197, 451, 578
chou, 65, 129, 185
choucroute, 511, 520
chou-fleur, 539
chrétien, 77, 496, 500, 546, *fem* 202
chronique, 525
chronometre, 502
cible, 511
ciel, 23, 43, 46, 75, 185
cigale, 517
cigare, 516, 518
cigogne, 40, 83
ci-inclus, 372
ci-joint, 212, 372
cil, 129
cime, 502
cimeterre, 199
cingler, 507
cinq, 20, 219
cinquante, 219
cire, 35, 46, 108
cirrus, 501
citadelle, 515
citadin, 515, 558

cité, 558
citoyen, 558
citron, 553
citrouille, 515
claie, 503
clair, 165
clair-obscur, 539
classique, 587
clerc, 205
clore *past def* 326, 352, *subjv pres* 326, *past part* 326
clôture, 67
clou, 44
club, 131, 512, 518, 519
cob, 559
cobalt, 511
coche, 202, 206
cochon, 206
cœur, 102, 177, 549, 552, 578
cohésion, 498
†comte, 371
col, 129
colère, 542, 549
collège, 547
colombe, 34, 66
colonne, 34, 66
combat, 126, 538
combe, 503
†combien que, 474
comète, 512
comme, 467
comme il faut, 540
comment, 446, 467
commerce, 578
commis-voyageur, 539
commodité, 583
compagne, 206
compagnie, 527
compagnon, 108, 179, 182, 206, 563
comparaison, 527
compétence, 582
complaire, 536
complet, 191, 541
compost, 513
compote, 513
comprendre, 552
compte, 78, 121
compter *Cf* conter
comte, 28, 46, 50, 78, 121, 179, 563
comté, 563
comtesse, 205
conclure *past def* 352, 354, 357, *past part* 368
concours, 371
conduire *indic pres* 314, *past def* 352, 354, 357, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 324, *impf* 360, *impv* 328, *past part* 368 *Cf* duire
conférer, 575
confort, 583
confus, 371
confusément, 447
connaissance, 207, 548
connaître, 72, 293, *indic pres* 307, 316, *past def* 350, 352, 355, *subjv pres* 324, *impf* 360, *past part* 363
connétable, 513, 563
conquerir *fut* 337 *Cf* querir
conquête, 371
conseil, 185, 579
conseiller, 567
consentir, 382
consigner, 122
consommer, 577, 586
constable, 513
constamment, 189, 446
construire *past def* 352, 354, *fut* 337
consultation, 538
consumer, 577, 586
conte, 78, 121
contenir, 285
conter, 47, 78, 102
continu, 577
contraire, 577
contraste, 515
contrat, 168
contrebande, 515
contre-coup, 532
contredanse, 512, 520
contredire, 382
†contremont, 465
contre-sens, 532
†contreval, 465
contrôler, 537
convenir, 392, 536
conversation 584
converser, 546
convertir *Cf* vertir
copain, 185
coq, 183
cor, 102
corde, 502
coreligionnaire, 536
corniche, 515
cornichon, 527
†corp, 102
corps, 121, 161, 180
correctif, 501

corridor, 20, 515
costume, 515, 518
côte, 67
cotillon, 527
coton, 514
cotre, 518
cottage, 556
cotte, 506, 595
cou, 102, 129, 181
coucher *indic pres* 285, 318
coude, 96
coudre, 100, *indic pres* 307, 316, *past def* 343, 348, *fut* 337
couenne, 80
couler, 67
couleur, 65
couleuvre, 66
coup, 181, 502
couple, 106
coupole, 518
cour, 25, 547
courage, 546, 584
courageux, 525
courge, 109
courir, 290, *indic pres* 99, *past def* 342, 345, 352, *fut* 337, *subjt pres* 323, *past part* 363, 366
courre, 290 *Cf* courir
courrier, 515
courroie, 102
cours, 371
course, 559
coursier, 559
courtisan, 515
courtois, 65, 186, 189, 526, 558
cousin, 202, *fem* 202
coussin, 66
couteau, 47
couter *past def* 342
coutil, 129
coutumier, 526
couver, 571
couvrir, 294, *indic pres* 307
craie, 72
craindre, 294, 520, *indic pres* 316, 321, *past def* 354, *past part* 366
cramoisi, 514
crapaud, 530
creature, 576
crèche, 506
crédit, 515, 542
crêpe, 202
crescendo, 515
crétin, 517
crever, 102
crevette, 517
cricket, 512
criminel, 496
crique, 507
cristal, 496
critique, 202
croire, 23, 293, 382, *pres part* 302, *indic pres* 307, 314, 319, *past def* 345, 352, 355, *fut* 337, *past part* 367
croissant, 542
croître *pres part* 93, *indic pres* 97, 102, 307, 316, *past def* 345, 352, 355, *past part* 367
croix, 102
cromlech, 504
crouler, 34
croupe, 506
croupir, 290, 291, *fut* 338
†croute, 502
croyable, 525
cruche, 506
cruel, 191
crument, 447
cueillette, 369, 515
cueillir, 294, *indic pres* 315, 317, 325, *past def* 342, 345 *fut* 338, *subjv pres* 325, *past part* 363–4, 365, 369
cuiller, 128
cuillere, 194 n
cuir, 36
cuire *indic pres* 318, *past def* 352, 354
cuisse, 571
cuivré, 525
cul, 129
culture 583
cumuler, 500
curieux, 75, 584
cynisme, 498

d'abord, 471, 584
daigner *indic pres* 40, 81, 102
d'ailleurs, 584
dais, 72
damage, 102
damasquin, 515
†dame, danz (< DOMINUS), 181, 562
dame (< DOMINA), 516, 562
†Damnedeu, 562
damoiseau, 562, 578
dandy, 512
danois, 72
dans, 445, 457, 460, 463, 465
danser, 289, 506

dartre, 56 c
d'autant que, 472
de (*part art*), 230–5
de (*prep*), 139, 215, 217, 254, 296, 298, 457, 458, 461
dead-heat, 512, 519
débile, 577
débit, 542
débiter, 585
débonnaire, 585
debout, 542
décence, 497
de ce que, 472, 480
dechoir *pres part* 303, *indic pres* 321, *fut* 337 *Cf* choir
décolleter *indic pres* 311
décréditer, 587
décroître *past part* 367 *Cf* croître
dedans, 445, 465
déduire, 375, *past def* 352, 354
déesse, 205
défaillir *indic pres* 317
défaut, 362
défectif, 497
défendre, 60, *past def* 343, *past part* 363
défense, 371
défiance, 575
déficit, 126, 501 n, 542
déguerpir, 506
dehors, 464–5
deja, 442 *Cf* ja
déjeuner, 311, 560
†dejoste, 458
déliberer, 382
délice, 195, 201
délivrer *fut* 336
demain, 442
demande, 538
demeure, 548
demeurer *fut* 336
demi, 212
demoiselle, 562
démolir, 290
démordre, 577
denier, 451
dénier, 579
dent, 200
denteler, 524
dépense, 371
dépensier, 526
dépister, 572
déplaire, 392
depôt, 547
de près, 445
depuis, 299, 458, 465
depuis que, 471
dérivation, 527
dernier, 191, 218, 578
deroute, 371
derrière, 442, 465
des, 458
descendre, 383, *past part* 363
déshonneur, 198
désigner, 122
désordre, 545
désormais, 445, 471
†despire *past def* 352
des que, 471
dessein, 577
desservir, 575
dessous, 445, 464
dessus, 445
destrier, 102, 559
détacher, 537
détourner, 535
détriment, 582
detruire *past def* 352, 354
dette, 96, 371
deux, 44, 221
devant, 458, 465, 471
devers, 464, 465
devin, 34
devis, 584
devoir, 84, 102, 169, 295, *indic pres* 310, 314, 315, 316, 542, *past def* 42, 103, 350, 352, 355, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 324–5, *impf* 360, *past part* 363, 367
devot, 66, 584
dévotion, 576
diablement, 446
diablerie, 522, 527
diaconnesse, 205
diagnose, 122
diction, 122
Dieu, 49, 114, 157, 205
différent, 218, 501, 577
difficile, 106
digue, 131
dilettante, 515
diligemment, 189
dimanche, 539
dime, 92, 222
dinde, 206, 542
dindon, 206, 527
diner, 165, 295, 560, *indic pres* 311
diplomate, 538
dire, 35, *pres part* 301, 303, *indic pres* 45, 285, 314, 318, *past def* 108, 346,

349, 353, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 324, *impf* 358, 360, *impv* 327–8
discerner, 497
discipline, 106, 549
discordance, 535
discuter, 289
disparaître, 384 *Cf* paraître
dispenser, 575
dispute, 585
dissoudre *past def* 354, *past part* 370
dissuader, 289
divan, 514
diversion, 497
divertir, 552 *Cf* vertir
dix, 125
dix-huit, 115, 219
dizaine, 222
dock, 511
doctoresse, 205
dogme, 122
dogue, 510, 520
doigt, 171
dolman, 511
dolmen, 504
dôme, 515
domestique, 584
dompte-ennui, 540
don, 46
donc, 127, 467
donner, 38, *indic pres* 308, *fut* 336, *subjv pres* 323 325–6
dont, 127, 264, 268, 442, 445
donzelle, 517
dormir, 65, 290, *indic pres* 316, 577, *past def* 339, 340, *fut* 338, *subjv pres* 325, *impf* 358–9
dortoir, 36, 102
dos, 84
dot, 127
douane, 514
double, 29, 102
douloir, 352, 392
doute, 194
douter, 584
doux, 189
douzaine, 222, 527
drague, 512
drap, 102, 126
drapeau, 547
draper, 289
dresser, 34, 102
drogue, 508
droit, 34, 168, 542
droiture, 526
duc, 106, 496
ducat, 515
duché, 525
duegne, 516
duire *indic pres* 318, *past def* 352, *impv* 327–8
dûment, 447
dune, 507
dupe, 207, 517
dur, 102
durant, 462
durer *fut* 336

eau, 71, 103, 127
écaille, 505
ecarquiller, 20
echanger, 535
échanson, 506
échappee, 515
écharpe, 506
échelle, 515
échevele, 61
échine, 506
échoir *pres part* 303, *indic pres* 321
éclater, 384
école, 84
écossais, 72
écouter, 45, 160
écrier (s'), 384
ecrin, 45
écrire, 293, *indic pres.* 316, *past def* 352, 354
écrit, 542
écritoire, 195
ecrivain, 207
ecrivasser, 524
écrouler (s'), 384
écu, 181
écume, 505
écuver, 526
edifier, 575
†ef, 591
effectuer, 122
effet, 168
effréné, 531
effroyable, 577
egards, 586
église, 496, 500, 502
†eissir *fut* 338, *past part* 363
élan, 509
électorat, 529
élégamment, 446
éléphant, 207
élève, 207

élever, 577¦ 586
élire - *past def* 345, 356, *past part* 366
élite, 371
élixir, 514
élle, 73, 238
eloigner, 83
éloquemment, 189
émanciper, 497
embarcadère, 516
embarcation, 516
embattre, 535
†embler, 47, 78, 100
embolisme, 496
embonpoint, 585
embusquer, 515
émeri, 515
emmancher, 80
emmener, 80
émotionner, 592
émouvoir, 592, *past part* 367
emparer, 517
empereur, 179, 182, 206
emplette, 371
emplir, 283, 290, 291, *fut* 338
†empres, 465
en (< IN), 139, 304–5, 457–8, 460, 463
en (< INDE), 247, 412, 533
enamourer, 80
enchanteresse, 204
encolure, 537
encontre, 465
encrier, 75
†endementiers que, 471
endive, 502
endormir (s'), 384
†endroit, 465
enfance, 102
enfant, 102, 168–70, 179, 207, 516
enfer, 128
enfermer, 80
enfler, 102
enfouir, 291, *fut* 338 *Cf* fouir
enfreindre *past def* 354
enfuir (s'), 384, 533
engendrer, 30
engin, 45, 571
engloutir *fut* 338
énigme, 122
enivrer, 80, 537
†enmi, 465
ennemi, 80
ennui, 80
ennuyer, 392, *indic pres* 319
enorgueillir, 80
enseigne, 81, 202
enseigner, 89
ensemble, 29, 445, 465
ensuivre (s'), 533
entendre, 584
enthousiasme, 502
entour, 465
entourage, 548
entr'aider (s'), 535
entrailles, 577
entrain, 535
entraîner, 583
entre, 134, 458, 459
entrée, 548
entrelacer, 535
entrer *indic pres* 307, *fut* 336
entrevoir, 535
entrevue, 513
†entrues que, 471
envahir, 290
envers, 464, 465
environ, 465
envoler (s'), 384, 533
envoyer *indic pres* 319, *fut* 336
†enz, 464
épais, 191
épargner, 505
épars, 371
épée, 84, 97, 120, 493
épeler, 289
éperon, 505
épervier, 56, 506
épier, 506
épieu, 44, 506
épinard, 514
épine, 84, 102
épisode, 199
épithète, 498, 502
épître, 106
épleuré, 310
éploré, 310
épousailles, 525
époux, 67, 202, 571, 584, *fem* 202
équiper, 507
éreinter, 531
erreur, 190
†es (= en + les), 139
†es (< ECCE), 442
escadre, 515
escadron, 515
escale, 515
escalier, 113, 124, 517
escalin, 507
escapade, 515

escarbille, 517
escargot, 517
escient, 77
escompte, 515
escorte, 515
escouade, 516
escroc, 515
†esmer, 102, 591
espace, 201
†espardre *past def* 352
espérer *indic pres* 310
espiègle, 509, 568
espion, 515
esplanade, 515
espoir, 538, †542
esprit, 500, 578
esquisse, 515
essai, 493, 571
essuyer, 577
est, 507
estampe, 120, 576
†ester *indic pres* 321, *past def* 342, 345, 350, 352
esterlin, 510
estime, 584
estimer, 591
estoc, 576
estomac, 584
†estouvoir, 392, *past def* 352
estrade, 575
†es're (*prep*), 458
†estree, 557
†estrieu, 44, 518
esturgeon, 517
et, 221, 466
étage, 584
étai, 507
étalon, 559
étape, 507
étaple, 507
été, 200
éteindre *past def* 352, 354
etincelle, 20
etiquette, 513, 517, 552
étoffe, 513
etoile, 120
etonner, 584
étourneau, 587
étrange, 91, 584, 586
étranger, 526, 586
être, 100, 217, 293, 295, 392, *indic pres* 307, 321, *impf* 49, 333, *past def* 37, 351, *fut* 279, 337, *subjv pres* 127, 323, 326, *impv* 329, *past part* 368
étrécir, 290
étreindre *past def* 354
etrenne, 80
étrier *Cf* estrieu
étriquer, 517
étude, 548, 575
eucharistie, 68
eunuque, 68
eux, 238
évanouir (s'), 384
événement, 584
évêque, 501, 502, 560
examen, 122, 501
exaucer, 575
excellent, 122
excepte, 372, 464
excessif, 497
exclure, 122, *past def* 354, *past part* 36
excursion, 118
exemple, 122
exempter, 121
exercer, 122
exercice, 199
exhibition, 583
exploiter, 535
expres, 513
ex-roi, 535
externat, 529
extra, 118
extra-fin, 536
extraire, 118, 535
extra-légal, 536
extrême, 122

fable, 592
fabliau, 517
façade, 515
face, 174, 465
fâcher, 392, 584
façon, 513
fadaise, 517
fagot, 527
faible, 72, 577
faience, 515
faillir, 291, 338, *indic pres* 315–17, *fut* 338, *subjv pres* 325 *Cf* falloir
faillite, 515
fainéante, 203
fainéantise, 527
faire, 211, 217, *indic pres* 285, 315, 318, *past def* 37, 349, 352, 353, 358, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 55, 323, 325, *impf* 358, 360, *impv* 102, 327, 328, *past part* 45, 92, 102, 126

faite, 505
fallοir, 292, 392, *indic pres* 315, 316, 317, *past def* 345, *fut* 338, *subjv pres* 325, *past part* 362, 363
falot 'fellow', 510
falot 'torch', 515, 523
fanal, 502
fange, 505
fantassin, 518
fantoche, 515
faquin, 585
farandole, 517
farine, 102
fashion, 513
fat, 126, 517
fatal, 188, 577, 579, 586
faubourg, 531, 533
faubourien, 531
faucher, 168
faucon, 47, 102
faune, 202
faussement, 447
faute, 362
fauteuil, 569
fauve, 505, 581
faux 'false', 202, 371
faux 'scythe', 168, 202
faveur, 549
fecondité, 106
feindre, 45, *past def* 352, 354
feldspath, 511
felon, 179
femme, 78, 80, 207
fendre, 45, *past part* 363
fenestré, 123
fenetre, 62, 102
fente, 362
fer, 99, 102, 125, 128
ferir *fut* 338, *past part* 363
ferme, 556
fermeté, 527
fermier, 526
ferraille, 525
fesse, 371
festin, 515
festival, 512
fétiche, 516
feu (< *FATUTUM), 44
feu (< FOCUM), 44, 577
feuillage, 69
feuille, 27, 36, 174
feuillet, 525
feutre, 69
fève, 84
fiancé, 542
ficelle, 47
fief, 506
fiel, 102
fiente, 77
fier, 128, 584
fierté, 527, 531
fièvre, 17
fifre, 509, 518
figue, 106
figure, 496
fil, 45, 129
filet, 523
filigrane, 515
fille, 36, 89, 102, 206, 592
filleul, 528
fils, 129, 182, 183, 206
final, 188
finesse, 527
finir, 34, 286, 287, *pres part* 301, *indic pres* 306, 307, 320, *impf* 331, *subjv pres* 322, *past part* 365
fioriture, 515
flairer, 102
flamand, 530
flan, 506
flanelle, 512, 520
flatter, 552, 584
flegme, 122
fleur, 178, 193
fleurir, 283, 286, 290–2, *subjv pres* 324
flirter, 289
florin, 515
flotte, 507, 546, 576
flottille, 516
flouer, 517
foi, 17, 23, 102
foie, 541
fondre *past def* 345, *past part* 363, 366
fontaine, 102, 541
fonte, 371
football, 512
forain, 587
†forboire, 533
forcene, 505, 537
forces, 102
forclore, 533
forêt, 58
forfaire, 533
formariage, 533
forme, 66, 67
fors, 464, 475
fort, 102, 186–7, 189, 216
fortement, 446

fou, 45, 129, 188, *fem* 189
foudre, 100, 102, 201
fougère, 47
fougue, 515
fouir, 283, 291
fourbe, 517
fourbir, 518
fourbu, 66, 533
fourmi, 66
fournil, 129, 528
fournir, 505
foyer, 47
fracas, 515
fragile, 106, 500
†fraindre *past def* 345, 352
frais, 19, 72
franc, 218
français, 72, 186, 191, 530
François, 72, 530
francolin, 515
frégate, 515
frein, 17, 102, 531
frelater, 508
frêle, 500
frêne, 193
fréquent, 582
frere, 182, 206
fret, 507
fricti, 511, 518
frimas, 521, 528
froid, 19, 92, 96
froideur, 198
fromage, 20, 66
froment, 34
Fronde, 587
fronder, 587
fruit, 45, 72 n , 168, 531
fruitier, 531
fuir, 283, 290, 382, *indic pres* 319
fuite, 371
fumier, 41
funèbre, 586
funeste, 577, 586
fureur, 577, 579, 586
furie, 577, 586
furieusement, 578
fusil, 129
fusillade, 530

gabelle, 517
gage, 201, 506
gageure, 68
gagner, 289, 518, 546
gaîment, 447
galant, 558, 578 ▪
galop, 126
galopin, 526
gant, 506
gantelet, 525
gantier, 526
garce, 592
garçon, 183
garde, 84, 103, 202, 538, 548
garde-manger, 540
garder, 518, *subjv pres* 323
gardien, 530
garer *impv* 327
garnir, 290, 505
garnison, 527
gars, 185
gasconnade, 530
gastrose, 529
gâter, 520
gavion, 517
gavotte, 517
gavroche, 568
gazelle, 514
gazette, 515
géante, 203
geler, 169, *fut* 336
gendarme, 540
gêne, 564, 584
gêner, 564, 584
général, 189
genet, 516, 559
génie, 549, 587
genou, 36, 102, 108, 164, 185, 591
gens, 170, 196
†gent, 93, 102, 108, 156
gentil, 129, 189, 191
gentilhomme, 513, 539, 558, 583
gentiment, 446
gentleman, 513
geographie, 59
gerbe, 505
germer, 102
gésir, 35, 290, *indic pres* 315, *past def* 350, 352, 355, *past part* 68, 363
gigantesque, 515
gindre, 192
girafe, 514, 515
girofle, 102
glace, 36, 102, 174
glacial, 188
glacier, 517
gloire, 36, 584
goddam, 510, 548
godenot, 510

godon, 510, 548
goéland, 504
golfe, 502, 515
gondole, 515, 518
gonfanon, 506
gosselin, 526
†goupil, 520, 546
goutte, 65, 102, 451, 585
gouvernante, 206
gouvernement, 548
gouvernemental, 529
gouverneur, 206
grâce, 575
gradin, 515
†graignor, 192
grain, 174, 451
graine, 174
grand, 102, 108, 186, 187, 189, 191, 218
grandement, 446
grand'mère, 189
grand'rue, 189
granit, 127
grasseyer, 524
gratis, 126
gratter, 505
gré, 17, 102
grenier, 526
grésil, 129, 528
grève, 550
grief, 189
†grieu, 44
grièvement, 446
gril, 129
grimace, 584
grincheux, 517
gris, 505, 551, 581
grisâtre, 528
griser, 289
grisette, 551
gris-pommelé, 539
grog, 131
gros, 67, 186, 218
groseille, 581
gros-œuvre, 195
grotesque, 515
grotte, 502
gué, 520
guêpe, 520
guerdon, 520, 593
guère, 444, 451
guérir, 56, 505, *fut* 338
guerre, 103, 591
guerroyer, 524
guet, 506
guetre, 569
guetter, 506
gueule, 23
gueux, 517
gui, 171
guide, 202
guider, 289
guillotine, 525
guimpe, 507
guindas, 507
guindé, 577
guinder, 507
guinée, 512
guise, 505
guitare, 516
guivre, 520
gutta-percha, 512

habile, 106
habiller, 587
habitude, 501
hâbler, 289, 516
hache, 506
hagard, 572
haie, 506, 572
hair, 291, 506, *indic pres* 315, 321, *fut* 338
halbran, 509, 518
halecret, 509, 518, 520
halle, 506
halte, 509
hameau, 157, 558
hanap, 518
hanche, 505
haquenée, 559
harceler, 56
hardi, 505
hardiment, 447
harem, 514
hargneux, 56
harnais, 72
harnois, 72
harpe, 505
hase, 509
hâte 'haste', 55, 506
hâte 'spit', 506
haubert, 84
haut, 19, 70, 218, 520
hautain, 523
havre, 507
havresac, 511
heaume, 29, 157, 505
héberge, 108, 506
hébéter, 587

hébraïque, 206
hébreu, 206
hélas, 127
héraut, 530
hériter, 496
hermine, 157, 547
hermite, 157
héron, 506
héros, 115
herse, 56
hêtre, 506
heur, 23, 44, 68, 198
heure, 68
heureusement, 447
heurt, 127
hiatus, 126, 134
hier, 115, 442
hiéroglyphe, 498
high-life, 519
hiver, 128, 541, 591
†hobe, 525
hobereau, 525, 572
hockey, 512
hollandais, 72
hombre, 516
homme, 179, 182, 183, 516, 546
hongre, 559
honnête, 578
honnêteté, 61
honneur, 198 549
honnir, 518
honorer, 587
honte, 506
hôpital, 67, 556
hoqueton, 516
horaire, 582
horrible, 577
hors, 464–5
hôtel, 67, 556
hôtel-Dieu, 209, 540
hôtelier, 526
hôtesse, 205
houille, 517
houx, 506
huguenot, 509, 520
†hui (< HODIE), 36, 46, 442
huile, 134
huis, 156, 595
huit, 115
huitain, 527
huitaine, 222
humaniste, 529
humanitaire, 529
humble, 28
humeur, 198, 515, 549, 588
humour, 201, 513, 519
hune, 507
hutte, 509, 556
hygiène, 502
hypothèse, 498

ici, 445
if, 125, 127
ignition, 122
il, 129, 238, 258, 392–3
île, 102
illisible, 536
image, 28, 201
imbroglio, 515
impératrice, 206
imperméable, 536
impertinent, 584
importation, 512
importer, 583
inamovibilité, 531
inamovible, 531
inautorisé, 536
inclus, 368
incognito, 122, 518
incontinent que, 471
incruster, 536
indemnité, 80
indu, 367
indulgent, 582
inexpugnable, 122
infant, 516
infiltrer, 536
ingrat, 575
injure, 585
injurieux, 585
instituer, 289
instruire, 500
instrument, 500
intellectuel, 502
intendant, 567
interdire *indic pres* 318
interminable, 497
intervenir, 535
interview, 513
irlandais, 525
irréprochable, 536
issue, 363
†ive, 559
ivre-mort, 539

†ja, 93, 156, 442, 474
jacobin, 570
†jaçoit que, 474

jadis, 127, 442, 443 • *Cf* ja
jalousie, 527, 549
jaloux, 34, 67, 85, 502
jamais, 442, 451–6
jambe, 102, 571
†jante, 505
janvier, 103
jardinage, 577
jargon, 56
jatte, 571
jaune, 102
je, 237
jeter, 336 •
jeu, 44, 68
jeudi, 173
jeune, 102, 218
jeûne, 102
jeune fille, 592
jeunesse, 549
jockey, 312
joie, 46, 49, 93, 108, 174
joindre *indic pres* 316, *past def* 352, 354
jolument, 447
joncer, 531
jonquille, 518
†joste, 458
joue, 571
jouer, 102, 384, *indic pres* 311
joug, 131
jouir, 291, 382, *fut* 338
jour, 93, 102, 181, 586
journal, 525
journée, 525, 586
journel, 525
joyeux, 47
juger, 108, 289
juin, 45, 72 n
jumeau, 41, 202
jumelle, 202
jument, 206, 546, 559
jupe, 514
juré, 583
jurer *fut* 336
juriste, 501
jury, 518, 519
†jus, 442
jusqu'a ce que, 471
jusque, 123, 465, 471
justice, 495

keepsake, 512
képi, 511
kérès, 518
kermesse, 508
kirschwasser, 511

la (*def art*), 224, (*pron*), 238
là, 102, 167, 442
labeur, 198, 582
labourer, 546
ladre, 542
laid, 506
laideur, 198
laisser, 75, 92, *indic pres* 92, *fut* 336, *impv* 327
lambrequin, 508
lampe, 569
landau, 511
lande, 503
lange, 91, 201
langue, 103, 155
languir, 289
lansquenet, 509, 518
laquais, 516
larbin, 517
large, 190, 191
laryngoscope, 502
laver *indic pres* 307, 310
le (*def art*), 224–6, (*pron*), 63–4, 141, 238, 245
lécher, 505
lecteur, 204, 583
lectrice, 204
lecture, 583
leger, 91
†legne, 156
legs, 126, 131, 163
légume, 501
le long de, 464
lentement, 446
lequel, 264, 273
les, 63, (*def art*), 224, (*pron*), 238
lésine, 515
lettre, 592
leur, 116, (*pers pron*), 238, (*poss pron*), 252
leurre, 572
lever, 47, 86, 102, 577, 586, *indic pres* 310, *fut* 336
levraud, 531
lèvre, 102, 174
levrette, 531
lévrier, 60
†lez, 464
liaison, 527
libéral, 570
libertin, 567, 575, 584

librairie, 567
libre, 106
lice, 203
licence, 585
liège, 36
lien, 77
lier, 312
lierre, 200
lieu, 44
lieue, 44, 503
lieutenant, 540
lièvre, 531
ligament, 498
ligne, 40, 81, 102
lilac, 126, 514, 516
lilas, 126, 514
limite, 194
limonier, 559
limousin, 526
limousine, 526
linceul, 47
linge, 91
lionne, 203
lire *pres part* 303, *indic pres* 46, 303, 314, *past def* 352, 355–6, *fut* 335, *subjv pres* 324, *past part* 363, 367
liseur, 128, 204
liseuse, 128, 204
lit, 45
livraison, 30, 550
livre 'book', 17, 202
livre 'pound', 202
loge, 506, 576
loin, 45, 72 n, 83, 443, 475
lointain, 527
loisir, 290, 295, 391
long, 101, 102, 191, 218, 531
†long (*prep*), 464
longueur, 531
lorgnon, 592
lorrain, 530
lors, 443
lorsque, 123, 471
louange, 528
louer (< LAUDARE), 65, 491, 591
louer (< LOCARE), 491, 591
loup, 44
loyalement, 446
†lues que, 471
luge, 503, 517
lui, 160, 238
luire, 283, 287, 290, 293, 577, *pres part* 47, 301, *indic pres* 46, 315, *past def* 354, 355, *fut* 337, *past part* 368, 368 n
lundi, 47, 173, 201 n, 540
lune, 102
luth, 126

macaron, 520
macaroni, 518
mâchonner, 524
madame, 539, 562
mademoiselle, 119, 539, 562
madrigal, 515
magasin, 514
mai, 163
maigrillot, 527
main, 46
maint, 277
maintenant, 445
maintien, 538
†maire (*adj*), 192
maire (*subst*), 17, 36
mais, 163, 442, 451, 467, 475
mais, 516
†maisnil, 556
maison, 90, 102, 556
maisonnette, 556
maître, 177, 205
maître-autel, 539
maîtresse, 205
majestueux, 525
majeur, 192
majolique, 515
major, 17
majordome, 515
majorité, 583
mal, 214, 542
malade, 371, 541
maladie, 147
malaise, 535, 539
malart, 206
maldisant, 535
mâle, 29, 207
†male bouche, 573
†maleoite, 369
malgré, 465
malgré que 474
malheur, 23, 198 *Cf* heur
malhier, 559
malseant, 302
maltraiter, 535
malveillant, 302
manant, 565
manche, 202
manchot, 527, 552

mandarin, 516
manège, 515
manger, 165, 571, *indic pres* 311, 318, *past def* 341, *past part* 364
mannequin, 508
manœuvre, 202, 548
†manois que, 471
mansarde, 525
manteau, 47
marabout, 516
marais, 72
marâtre, 528
marbre, 100
marche, 505
marché, 34, 548
mardi, 173
maréchal, 563
Margot, 19, 527
marle, 102
marmelade, 516
marquer, 56
marqueter, 524
marquis, 520, 563
marraine, 56
marron, 209, 542, 581
mars, 126
martre, 505
mascarade, 515
masque, 515
masse, 502
masure, 556
matassin, 516
matin, 542
matois, 517
matou, 517
maudire, 535
mauvais, 214, 218
mauvaise langue, 547
maxime, 122
me, 21, 137
méchant, 218, 303
méconnaître, 533
mécréant, 302, 303
médaille, 515
médecin, 119, 207
médire *indic pres* 318
meeting, 519
meilleur, 187, 191, 192, 214
mélange, 201, 548
mélasse, 516
mêler, 102
mélèze, 517
membre, 102
même, 218 275
mémoire, 202
ménage, 584
ménagerie, 584
mendiant, 77
mener, 571, *fut* 336
†menestier, 495
menhir, 504
menin, 516
méningite, 529
mensonge, 196
menteur, 128, 204
menteuse, 69, 128, 204
mer, 46, 128, 200
merci, 17, 35
mercredi, 22, 173
mérinos, 516
mérite, 194
merle, 102
merveille, 560
mésange, 506
mésaventure, 533
†mesmement, 446
mesquin, 514
mess, 513
messire, 539, 561
mesure, 84
mets, 163, 371
mettre, 45, *indic pres* 316, *impf* 332, *past def* 349, 352, 353, *fut* 337, *past part* 368
meuble, 102, 500
meute, 69, 362
mi, 35
miche, 507
midi, 201 n
mie, 451
mien, 250
mieux, 187, 192, 214, 448
mignon, 516
mil, 219
milan, 517
mille, 219
milliasse, 525
million, 219
millour, 510
milord, 510
mineur, 192
ministre, 567
minorité, 583
minuit, 196
mioche, 517
missive, 592
mistral, 517
mobile, 500

mode, 202, 582
mœurs, 126
mohair, 516
moi, 21, 74, 237
moindre, 29, 192, 214
moine, 501
moins, 214, 448
moire, 514
mois, 24, 84, 96, 101, 180
moisir, 290
moisson, 102
moissonneuse, 525
moitié, 75, 114
moment, 66, 495
mômerie, 67
mon, 63, 134, 250
monarchie, 502
monnaie, 72
monseigneur, 539, 561
monsieur, 128, 539, 561
mont, 177
montagne 78
montrer, 501, *fut* 336
moraine, 517
mordre, 289, 292, *past def* 345, 352, 354, *subjv pres* 325, *past part* 366, 371
morion, 516
morne, 66
mors, 371
mortel, 47, 189
mot, 67, 126, 451
motif, 583
motion, 583
mou, 129, 188, *fem* 189
moudre, 100, *indic pres* 307, *past def* 352, *past part* 363
moule, 102
moulin, 526
†moult, 160, 216, 274, 442
mourir, 283, *indic pres* 288, 310, 315, *past def* 342, 345, 352, *fut* 338, *subjv pres* 324–5, *past part* 108, 366
mousse, 202, 546
moustache, 515
moustique, 20, 516
mouvoir *indic pres* 310, 314, *past def* 345, 352, 355, *subjv pres* 324, *past part* 363, 367
moyen, 74
mugir, 290
mulâtre, 516
mule, 206
mulet, 206, 525, 591
mur, 46, 102, 177
mûr, 44, 68
mystère, 201

nadir, 514
naguère, 392
naissance, 527
naître, 100, 294, *indic pres* 97, 316, *past def* 345, 348, *past part* 366, 368
narquois, 517
nasal, 188
natation, 498
natif, 582
nature, 106
navire, 194
navrer, 552
ne, 84, 217, 449, 451–5
néanmoins, 468
nef, 125, 127
négoce, 106, 579, 584
negre, 516
†neient, 451
†neis, 453
nenni, 449
nerf, 126
net, 126
nettoyer, 524
neuf 'new', 191
neuf 'nine', 101, 125
neveu, 46, 160, 179, 206, 571
névrose, 529
nez, 102, 125, 127, 169
ni, 217, 449, 453, 466
niais, 572
niche, 518
nièce, 206
nier, 35, 310
nigaud, 530
nimbus, 501
noble, 496
Noel, 200
noir, 92, 516
noise, 45
noix, 108
nom, 174
nombril, 129, 137
nommer, 47
non, 50, 84, 102, 449
nonce, 515
nonchalant, 450, 533
non-conformité, 450
nonnain, 179, 183
nonne, 179, 183
nonobstant, 450, 474

†nonques, 443, 449
non-sens, 450, 533
nord, 131, 507
notre, 62, 252
nougat, 517
noulle, 511
nourrir, 291, *fut* 338
nous, 237
nouveau, 188
nouvellement, 447
nouvelliste, 584
novembre, 34
noyer, 310
nu, 212
nuire, 290, 293, *indic pres* 315, *past def* 350, 352, 354–5, *fut* 337, *past part* 363, 366, 368
nuit, 45
nul, 45, 129, 274, 453, *fem* 102
nulle part, 445
nûment, 447
numéroter, 524
nuque, 514

objectif, 583
obscur, 117, 118
obscurément, 447
obséder, 585
obtenir, 121
obus, 511, 518
occident, 122
occire *past def* 345, 352, *past part* 371
†od, 458, 460
œil, 156, 181
œuf, 125, 127, 156, 185
œuvre, 195
offense, 371
office, 201, 575
offrir, 284, 290, *indic pres* 307, *fut* 338, *impv* 328, *past part* 365
oindre *past def* 354
†oire, 557
oiseau, 42, 47, 134, 591
oisif, 531
oisiveté, 531
ombrelle, 199
on, 179, 182, 183, 277, 280, 542
oncle, 100, 102
onde, 45
ongle, 100, 102
†onques, 443
†ont, 442
onze, 108, 115
opéra, 515, 518
opinion, 34, 66
or (*adv*), 443
or (*subst*), 46, 65, 67, 581
orage, 19, 201
oraison, 66
ordre, 194
oreille, 36, 102
†oreste, 19
orfèvre, 540
orfèvrerie, 527
orgueil, 505
orient, 77, 587
original, 525, 586
originel, 525, 586
orme, 66
orne, 102
orphelin, 502
orteil, 520
ortie, 66, 67
os, 126, 127
†osberc, 517 *Cf* haubert
†ost, 102, 181
ôter, 67
ou, 466
ou, 269, 442, 471, 474
ouate, 115, 134
ouest, 507
oui, 115, 255 n, 445, 449
ouir, 593, *indic pres* 102, 315
ours, 102, 127
out, 518
outarde, 66, 539
outil, 129
outre, 458, 459
outrecuidant, 535
outremer, 535
ouvrage, 201
ouvrer, 546
ouvrir *indic pres* 67, 307, *impf* 332, *fut* 338, *impv* 327, *past part* 365

page, 202, 502, 518
paien, 86, 102, 526, 560
paillasse, 582
paille, 55, 209
pain, 177, 491
paire, 90
paître *indic pres* 316, *past def* 345, 350, 352, 355
paix, 58, 180
palanquin 516
palefroi, 559
pâmoison, 527
pamphlet, 512, 518

panache, 194
panne, 80
pantalon, 515, 570
paon, 86, 102
papegai, 514
paperasse, 525
paquebot, 512, 518
par, 34, (*adv*), 216, 442, 535, (*prep*), 299, 457, 461, 462
parabole, 17, 560
parachever, 534
parade, 516, 518, 587
paraître, 72, *fut* 337
parangon, 516
parapet, 518
parce que, 472
pardessus, 535
pareil, 191
parfaire, 535
parfum, 548
parisien, 526
parlement, 567
parler *indic pres* 308, 311
parmi, 459, 465
paroi, 22, 200
†paroir *indic pres* 392, *past def* 346–8, 352, *subjv impf* 359–60, *past part* 363
paroissien, 77, 526
parole, 17, 42, 84, 560
parpaing, 56
part, 45, 55, 102, 457
partant, 468
partenaire, 512
partial, 525
partiel, 525
partir, 291, 295, 584, *pres part* 301, *indic pres* 306, 307, 308, *impf* 331, *fut* 335, *subjv pres* 322
pas, 451–6
passage, 548
pasteque, 514
pasteur, 183
patate, 516, 518
pâte, 55
patelin, 568
patemment, 189
patience, 77
pâtre, 183
patte, 55
paume, 102
pause, 576
pauvre, 165, 218, 541
pavillon, 571
payer, 102, 169, *indic pres* 62, 319
paysan, 203
peautre, 503
pécheresse, 204
pédant, 194 n, 585
peindre *indic pres* 316, 491, *past def* 352, 354
peine, 23
peintre, 183, 207
peinture, 548
pèlerin, 20
pendant, 462, 464
pendant que 471
pendre *past def* 345, *past part* 363
pendule, 200
penne, 80
penser, 552
pensum, 501
pente, 362
pepinière, 526
perclus, 369
perdition, 582
perdre, 102, 293, *pres part* 301, *indic pres* 161, 307, *past def* 343 *fut* 337, *subjv impf* 359, *past part* 362, 363
père, 29, 53, 177, 182
péremptoire, 121
péril, 129
période, 201
périr, 59
perleux, 525
permettre, 34, 386
perplexe, 497
personne, 197, 277, 451, 456
personnifier, 524
perte, 371
pertuis, 90
perturber, 592
†pesmes, 192
peste, 542
peter, 60
petit, 171, 191, 214, 218
pétition, 583
peu, 69, 444, 474–5
peuple, 69, 587
peupler, 587
peur, 69, 473
peut-être, 445
photographe, 502
pieça, 392
pied, 46, 160, 181
Pierrot, 527
pieu, 43
pilastre, 515
pilote, 515

pin, 193, 491¹
pinerale, 527
pintade, 516
pique-nique, 512
pire, 192, 214
pis (< PECTUS), 180
pis (< PEJUS), 214, 448
pitié, 75
pittoresque, 515
place, 108
plage, 515
plaid, 371
plaidoyer, 524
plaie, 36, 46
plaindre, 100, *indic pres* 45, 314, 316, *past def* 352, 354, *fut* 337, *subjv impf* 360
plaintif, 47
plaire, 290, 293, *indic pres* 102, 315, *past def* 350, 352, 355, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 323–4, *past part* 363, 367
plaisant, 584
plaisir, 290, 295
plancher, 584
plane, 28, 102
planer, 102
plante, 102, 587
planteur, 583
plantureux, 587
plaque, 508
plateforme, 589
plâtras, 521, 528
pleur, 198, 538
pleurer, 23, 47, *indic pres* 288, 310, *subjv pres* 324
pleuvoir *pres part*, 302, *past def* 352, *past part* 363
pli, 538
plier, 312
ployer, 312
plus, 192, 214–17, 430, 448, 451, 532
plusieurs, 192, 277
poële, 202
poids, 163
poignet, 83
poindre *past def* 345, 342, *fut* 47
poing, 83, 89, 102, 108, 171, 181
point, 45, 102, 168, 451–6
pointu, 526
poire, 553
pois, 163
poison, 47, 102
poisson, 93, 102
poitrine, 35, 47
poivre, 17
poix, 163
polichinelle, 515, 518
polisson, 517
politesse, 520
pomme, 553
pommier, 526
ponctuel, 122
pondre, 571, *past def* 354
pont, 45, 102
pony, 559
populace, 199, 515
porc, 102
porcelaine, 515
porche, 108
porcher, 526
porte, 45, 65, 178
poser, 47, 102
postdater, 118, 536
poste, 202
postier, 559
postillon, 515
postposer, 118
potage, 67
potence, 549
poudre, 100
poulain, 559
pouls, 168
pour, 299, 462
pourceau, 34, 66
†pour ce que, 472
pourparler, 535
pour que, 472–3, 475
poursuivre, 535
pourtant, 468, 471
pourvoir, 535, *fut* 335
pourvu que, 476
poutre, 168
pouvoir, 278, 284, 292, 295, *pres part* 302, *indic pres* 310, 315, 321, 325, *past def* 350, 352, 355, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 323, 325, *past part* 363
prairie, 59
praticien, 163, 497
pratique, 122
précieux, 578, 592
prédisposer, 536
préfet, 168
premier, 64, 222–3, 471
première, 541
prendre, 25, *pres part* 303, *indic pres* 307, 314, 316, 321, *past def* 345, 352, 353, *subjv pres* 324–5, *impf* 360, *past part* 366

près, 464
présentement, 446
présomptueux, 121
presque, 123
presse, 538
prêt, 542
prêtre, 179, 183, 496, 500–1, 560
prévaloir *subjv pres* 325
prévoir *fut* 335
prévôt, 371
prier, 382, *indic pres* 310, *fut* 61, 336
prieure, 204
prime, 222 n
primesautier, 222 n
†primes que, 471
primevère, 539
princier, 526
printemps, 222 n, 539
prison, 548
privauté, 527
procédé, 586
procéder, 289
procès, 58, 586
procureur, 567
professeur, 207
profil, 535
profit, 535
profondement, 447
proie, 23
promener, 535
promptement, 121
promu, 367
propre, 106, 218
protestation, 538
†proteste, 536
prouver, 47, 102, *indic pres* 67, *subjv pres* 326
†prouvoire, 179, 502
prudemment, 80, 189 446
prudent, 106
†pruef, 442
†pruisme, 192
prunelle, 525
psalmiste, 120
psalmodie, 120
psaume, 120
psautier, 120
puce, 581
puer, 289, 364
pugnacité, 122
puis, 458
puisque, 123, 470–2
puissant, 189, 302, 542
pur sang, 559
putain, 183

quadrille, 516
quai, 517
quaker, 518
quand, 442, 466
quarante, 219
quart, 222
quasi-mort, 536
quatrain, 222
quatre, 143, 219
quatre-vingts, 220
que (*conj*), 398–9, 417 18, 468–82
que (*pron*), 262, 265, 270–1
que (*rel adv*), 217, 265, 266, 428–9
quel, 189, 272
quelconque, 276
quelque, 276
quelque chose, 197, 276
quelqu'un, 276
qu'en dira-t-on, 540
quereller, 584
querir, 290, *past def* 342, 345, 349, 352, *fut* 337, *past part* 362
quete, 371
queux, 44, 183
Quichotte, 518
quiconque 276
quille, 508
quint, 45, 222
quinze, 103
qui (*rel*), 262–4, (*interrog*), 262, 270
quoi (*rel*), 262, 264, 267, (*interrog*), 262, 271
quoi que, 471, 474
quoique, 474
quotidien, 77

rade, 187, 507
radical, 570
†raembre *past def* 352, *past part* 371
rage, 91, 174
rai, 102
raide, 19, 62, 72
raideur, 72
rail, 512, 513, 519
raisin, 17, 46, 102
raison, 47, 93
ralingue, 507
rancœur, 196
rang, 506
rapide, 541
rappeler, 386, 535
rapporteur, 513

raquette, 515
rasseoir, 534 *Cf* asseoir
réactif, 535
réagir, 535
réarmer, 535
recette, 371
receveur, 531
recevoir, 292, 531, *indic pres* 310, 314, 316, *past def* 352, 355, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 324, *past part* 363
recherche, 538
rechercher, 535
récif, 516
reclus, 368
récolte, 515
record, 583
recours, 371
recouvrer, 30, 294, 586, *past part* 364
recouvrir, 294, 586, *past part* 364
†recreant, 566
recueil, 548
rédempteur, 121
redevable, 525
redingote, 512, 520
redire, 535, *indic pres* 318
redoutable, 577
réduire, 60, *past def* 354 *Cf* conduire
reelire, 535
refroidir, 290
regagner, 535
regarder, 382
regir, 289
règle, 106
regne, 122, 595
reille, 102, 513
reine, 206
reître, 509, 518
relief, 538
reluire, 577
†remanoir *past def* 352
remercier *fut* 336
remise, 200
remords, 371
remorquer, 515
renard, 530, 546
rendre *indic pres* 307, 314, 316, *past part* 363
renégat, 515
rente, 371
rentier, 526
repentir *past def* 348, *past part* 366
repondre, 283, 292, *past def* 343, 363
réponse, 371
reporter, 513
reprocher, 91
républicain, 531
république, 531, 539
requérir *past part* 362 *Cf* quérir
requête, 371
requin, 517
†rere *past def* 352
rescousse, 371
résigner, 122
résoudre *past def* 352, 354, 357, *past part* 362, 370
resplendir, 291, *fut* 338, *past part* 366
ressembler, 382, 535
ressentiment, 584
ressentir, 535
ressort, 577
ressortir, 291
ressource, 362
restes, 577
restituer, 289
retablir, 535
retourner, 384, 535
réussir, 584
revenir, 384, 535
révolter, 515
revolver, 60, 128, 518
rez-de-chaussée, 371
rhabiller, 535
rhingrave, 511
rhum, 512
ribaud, 507, 530
richard, 530
riche, 506, 541
rictus, 501
ridicule, 587
rien, 84, 102, 197, 277, 443, 451, 456
†riere, 442
rire, 283, 292, 384, *indic pres* 314, 321, *past def* 352, 353, *subjv pres* 325, *past part* 368
risque, 515
rivière, 582
riz, 502
robe, 131, 506
rognon, 83
roi, 35, 46, 74, 206
roide, 19, 72, 190
roideur, 72
roman, 568
romance, 199, 516, 518
romantisme, 529
rompre, 102, 294, *indic pres* 313, 316, *past def* 343, 348, *past part* 363, 366
ronde, 60

rosbif, 512, 518, 519
roseau, 67
rosier, 67, 526
rosse, 509, 559
rossinante, 559
rôtir, 67, 505
roublard, 517
rouennais, 80
rougir, 289
roussin, 559
route, 45, 102, 371, 557
routine, 526
rouvrir, 535
roux, 191
†rover *subjv pres* 326
royal, 74, 188
rue, 86, 102, 557
rugir, 290

sabre, 511
sac, 181, 185
sage, 218
saigner, 55
saillie, 542
saillir, 291, *indic pres* 317, *fut* 338, *subjv pres* 325, *past part* 363
saison, 571
salade, 517
salicoque, 517
salon, 515
saltimbanque, 515
†salz, 102
samedi, 173
sanctifier, 122
sang, 125, 127, 171
sangle, 521
sanglier, 526, 527, 541
sangloter, 289, 364
sans, 155, 458, 532
sans-culotte, 570
sans doute, 445
sans-gêne, 535
sans que, 426, 470, 475–6
saoûl, 129
sarabande, 516, 518
sarcelle, 56
†sarcou, *see* cercueil
sarment, 56
sauf, 45, 191, 464, 475, 595
saumon, 581
saur, 581
sauterelle, 525
sautiller, 524
sauvage, 34, 108, 525
savamment, 446
savane, 516
savant, 302, 542
savetier, 119
savoir, 165, 284, 295, 468, *pres part* 302, *indic pres* 58, 307, 315, 321, *past def* 346, 348, 350, 352, 355, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 108, 325, *impv* 329, *past part* 44, 363, 367
savon, 505
saynète, 516
sceptre, 496
science, 77
scorpion, 496
sculpter, 121
sculpteur, 207
se, 238, 248
séant, 303
sec, 188, 191
sécher, 290
second, 218, 222
secouer, 289, 364
secourir, 548
secours, 371
secousse, 371
secret, 126
séduire *past def* 352, 354 *Cf* duire
seigneur, 179, 561
séjour, 60
selon, 459
sembler *indic pres* 307
semestre, 498
semonce, 362
†sen, 505
†sendre, 179, 561
sénechal, 506
sens, 125, 126, 127
sente, 102
sentimental, 512
sentinelle, 207
seoir, 294, *pres part* 302, *indic pres* 321 *past def* 345, 352, *fut* 337
séparément, 447
sept, 121
septante, 121, 220
septième, 121
serge, 56
sergent, 301, 565
sergent-major, 565
serpe, 56
serpent, 102
servante, 206
service, 576
serviette, 525

servir, 102*f* 382, *pres part* 301, *indic pres* 314, 316, *fut* 338, *subjv pres* 325, *impv* 327, 328
serviteur, 206, 576
session, 583
seul, 43, 218
si (< si), 134, 421–6, 466
si (< sic), 134, 442, 467, 471, 476
siècle, 122
sien, 250
sieste, 516
sieur, 183, 561
signe, 122, 560
signet, 122
signifier *indic pres* 311
silence, 194
sinécure, 512
singe, 91, 102
sinon, 450, 468
sire, 183, 561
sobre, 66
soc, 503
socialiste, 570
sœur, 179, 183, 206
soi, 238, 248
†soif 'hedge', 23
soigner, 83
soin, 83
soit (*conj*), 468
soit (*interj*), 127, 542
soldat, 515, 574
solde, 515
soleil, 66
solennel, 80
solfège, 515
somme, 202
son, 63, 134, 250
sonate, 515
sonner, 38
sonnet, 515
sortie, 548
sortir, 295, *fut* 338, *subjv pres* 325
sot, 126, 130, 191
soubresaut, 517
soubrette, 517
soudain, 96, 471
souder, 47
soudoyer, 574
soudre, 102, *past def* 352, *fut* 337, *past part* 362, 370
souffreteux, 587
souffrir, 284, 290, *indic pres* 307, 310, *fut* 338, *impv* 327
souhait, 58
soulever, 311, 535
soulier, 526, 527
souloir, 43
soupe, 505
soupirail, 527
soupirant, 578
source, 362
sourcil, 129
sourd, 102
sourdine, 515
sourdre, 100, *fut* 337, *past part* 362
souris, 193
sous, 464
sous-œuvre, 195
sous-officier, 535
soutane, 515
souterrain, 537
souvenir, 392
spirituel, 120
spleen, 512
splendeur, 120
sport, 512
sportif, 528
square, 513, 519
squelette, 201
stagnant, 122, 171
station, 120
steamer, 128
stock, 512
stockfisch, 508
stopper 'repair', 517
stopper 'stop', 289
stratageme, 502
structure, 498
stuff, 513
stupide, 17, 584, 585
subdiviser, 535
subjectif, 583
subjection, 122
substituer, 118
subterfuge, 121
subtil, 102, 500
succeder, 584
succès, 58
sud, 131, 507
suédois, 72, 526
suer, 17
suffire, 500, *past part* 368
suisse, 546
suite, 371, 548
suivre, 294, *indic pres* 321
sujet, 58, 191
super-fin, 535
supportable, 525

sur, 458, 459, 460
sur, 60, 68, 102, 168
surabondant, 535
surcharger, 535
sureté, 527
sur-le-champ, 445
surprise, 583
survivre, 382
sus, 84, 127, 442, 459
svelte, 515
sympathie, 502
symptomatique, 498
symptôme, 121, 498, 502

tabac, 531
tabac a priser, 540
tabatiere, 531
tableau, 547
tableautin, 526
tablier, 75
taire (se), 290, 293, 352, 364, *indic pres* 315, *past def* 350, 352, 355, *fut* 337
talent, 571
†tandis, 443
tandis que, 123, 471
tant, 442
taon, 102
tapis, 502
tapoter, 524
tard, 101, 102, 442
tarder, 102
tare, 514
tarentelle, 520
tarif, 514
tartufe, 546
taureau, 525, 591
teindre *past def* 352, 354
tel, 102, 129 189, 274
telegramme, 502
téléphone, 502
tellement que, 476
temoigner, 83
temoin, 83, 108, 548
tempete, 19
temporel, 525
temps, 102, 121, 174, 180
tendre *indic pres* 307, *past def* 345, *past part* 363
tendre (TENERUM), 100, 187
tenir, 211, 290, *pres part* 303, *indic pres* 310, *past def* 37, 342, 345, 349, 352, 353, *fut* 335, 337, *subjv pres* 324, 325, 326, *impf* 360, *impv* 328, 542, *past part* 363, 366
tenor, 60, 515
tente, 362
†terdre, 283, *past def* 352, *past part* 371
terre, 99
terre-neuve, 200, 547
terrible, 577
tertre, 56
†testimonie, 496
tête, 45, 553, 571
tete-a-tete, 445
thuiere, 526
thomiste, 531
ticket, 512, 513
tien, 250
tierce, 222
tiercet, 520
tiers, 222
tige, 102 108, 201, 571
tillac, 507
timbre, 548
timbre-poste, 209, 540
tirailler, 524
tirour, 526
tison, 47
tisser, 289, 364
titre, 106
toi 237
toile 17, 102
toilette, 550
toise, 371
toit, 45
tole, 517
†tollir *past part* 371
tomate, 516
ton, 63, 134, 250
tondre, 283, 292, *past part* 363
tonne, 503
tonnerre, 22, 72
tonte, 371
topaze, 496
†tor, 591
tordre, 283, 292, *past def* 352, 354, *past part* 362, 366, 371
torque, 517
torrentiel, 525
tort, 371
tôt, 67
tour, 202
tourment, 34, 66
tournesol, 516
tourniquet, 525
tousser, 287, 289, 364
tout, 127, 212, 274, 464

toutefois, 468
trafic, 515
trahir, 290
traire, 546, *past def* 352, *fut* 337, 338
†trait, 577
traiter, 289, *past def* 341, *past part* 364
traître, 205
traîtresse, 205
traîtreusement, 447
tramway, 512
transatlantique, 535
transitoire, 497
trappe, 505a
travail, 36, 89
traversin, 515, 578
†tref, 102
tremblement, 61
trembler, 100, 102
trémolo, 515
trente, 221, 219
trepasser, 535
trépied, 60
très, 442, 450
trésor, 60
tressaillir, 291, 535, *indic pres* 317, *fut* 338
trêve, 506
tribord, 508
tribune, 515
trinquer 509
triste, 186, 190, 218, 519
trombone, 515
†trompe, 538
tromperie, 538
trompette, 202
trop, 126, 216, 444
trottiner, 524
trottoir, 526
troubadour, 517
troubler, 592
trouvaille, 525
trouver, 560, *indic pres* 18, 310, 326, *subjv pres* 326
trucher, 517
tu, 134, 237, 242
tube, 500

ulster, 128, 518, 519
ultra-royaliste, 535
ultra-violet, 535
un, 46, 82, 167, 198, 221, (*indef art*), 227–9, (*pron*), 274, 277
unième, 222
union, 124
unique, 577
urbain, 558
user, 47

vacarme, 507
vache, 108
vague 'void', 202
vague 'wave', 202, 507
vaillant, 186, 187, 189, 302
vain, 581
vaincre, 100, 294, *indic pres* 307, *past def* 348, *fut* 307, 335, 337, *past part* 307, 363
vainqueur, 525
vair, 102
vaisseau, 102
vallon, 527
valoir *pres part* 302, *indic pres* 101, 306, 307, 315, 316, 324, *impf* 331, *past def* 345, 356, *fut* 337, *subjv pres* 36, 322–3, 325, *past part* 363
valse, 511
vampire, 511
vanille, 516
vapeur, 200
varaigne, 517
varech, 507, 518
variante, 542
vase 'silt', 202, 508
vase 'vase', 202
vasistas, 511
vassal, 509
vaurienne, 203
vedette, 207, 515
véhémentement, 446
véhicule, 498
veiller *indic pres* 89
veine, 46
velours, 517
venaison, 571
vendange, 17, 528
vendre *indic pres* 316, *past def* 343, *past part* 363
vendredi, 173
venir *indic pres* 310, *past def* 17, 342, 346–7, 349, 353, *fut* 335, 338, *subjv pres* 324, 325, 326, *subjv impf* 360, *past part* 363, 366
vent, 45
vente, 371
ver, 102, 125, 128
verbe, 560
verdict, 513
verge, 102

vergogne, 83, 89
vergue, 517
vérité, 527
vermout, 127, 511
verre, 72, 547
vers, 464
verser, 102
vert, 24, 189
†vertir, 289, 291, *past def* 348, *fut* 338, *past part* 363, 366
vertu, 47, 560
vêtir *indic pres* 316, *fut* 338, *past part* 363
veuf, 203
veuve, 84, 103, 203
vexer, 122
viande, 546
viatique, 17
vice-président, 535
vicomte 535
victime, 207
victuaille, 500
vidame, 535, 562
vidange, 528
vide, 62, 131, 190
vider, 169
vie, 87, 102
vieillot, 527
vierge, 28, 496, 500
vieux, 36, 84, 102, 189
vif 46, 102, 161, 188, 191
vigne, 81, 89
vil, 129, 189
vilain, 47, 527, 558
vilebrequin, 508
villa, 556
village, 550
villageois, 526
ville, 45, 547, 558
villégiature, 515
vin, 46
vinaigre, 539
vingt, 219, 221
violâtre, 531
violemment, 446
violet, 531
violon, 515
virginité, 495
vis-a-vis, 445, 465
vivre, 102, *pres part* 302, *indic pres* 314, 316, *part def* 343, 355, *fut* 337 *past part* 363
vivres, 295
vocalique, 529
vœux, 578
voguer, 515
voici, 328, 542
voie, 557
voilà, 328, 542
voile, 201
voir, 60, 102, 294, *pres part* 302, *indic pres* 307, 314, *past def* 352, 353, *fut* 335, 337, *subjv pres* 325, *impf* 360, *impv* 327–8, *past part* 363
voire (< VERA) 444
voisin, 20, 34, 81, 99, 203, *fem* 203
voiture 571
voix, 36, 46, 180
volontiers, 443
voltiger, 587
volume, 34, 66
volute, 515
voter, 583
votre, 62, 252
vouloir, 278, 284, 292, *pres part* 302, *indic pres* 307, 308, 310, 315, 316, *past def* 345, 349, 356, *subjv pres* 325, *impf* 360, *impv* 329, *past part* 356, 369
vous, 237, 242
voussoir, 362
voussure, 362
voûte, 371
voyage, 17, 525
voyou, 517
vrai, 34, 102, 218
vraiment, 61, 447
vu (*prep*), 464
vu que, 472

wagon, 134, 512, 519
whig, 131

y, 247, 392, 442
yacht, 134
yeuse, 134, 517

zele, 502
zenith, 514
zigzag, 131, 511
zinc, 511
zone, 496
zouave, 514
zyeuter, 137